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CULAVAMSA

BEING THE MORE RECENT PART OF THE

MAHĀVAMSA

PART I.

TRANSLATED BY

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AND FROM THE GERMAN INTO ENGLISH BY

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UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF CEYLON

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To
Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys
in sincere veneration
and friendship

FOREWORD

On completing the first volume of my translation of the *Cūlavamsa*, I feel it to be my duty above all to tender my most hearty thanks to the Government of Ceylon for the opportunity it gave me of visiting the Island before beginning my work. In Colombo Mr. M. A. YOUNG, at that time First Assistant Colonial Secretary, arranged matters for me in the kindest manner.

My thanks are no less due to my esteemed colleagues in England whose friendly advocacy and recommendation did so much towards furthering affairs.

Without the journey which took me into all parts of the Island, I should have been without that vivid idea of the country and the people which is necessary for the understanding of their history. Without it too, I should have lost that mass of information and the stimulating intercourse which met me in Ceylon from the most varied quarters.

I mention in the first place with special pleasure and sincere gratitude the present Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. A. M. HOCART, whose lively and intelligent interest in my aims and tasks I shall always remember, as well as that of his temporary representative, Mr. SUDBURY. In their company I was able to visit a series of important ruins partly in very out of the way places, and so familiarize myself with some of the most pressing questions connected with ancient Sinhalese architecture.

In the same way I owe warm thanks to Mr. H. W. CODRINGTON. Himself the greatest authority on the history and mediaeval topography of Ceylon, he gave me much help and ready en-

couragement, as a glance at the notes to my translation will show.

Mr. P. E. PIERIS also smoothed many a path for me and to his good offices I owe many a valuable connection. Of my old friends I may mention lastly in this place the indefatigable Mudaliyar A. M. GUNASEKARA. I must add however, that wherever I came, new Sinhalese friends — amongst others I may mention Ratamahatmaya BIBILE — gave me willing and active support.

My principle in working has been to make my translation approach as closely as possible to the original. We must as far as is practicable, know exactly what the chroniclers say. The aesthetic value of the *Cūlavamsa* as a literary work is small. The carrying out of this principle has been made more difficult by the fact that the German text has had to be re-translated into English. I am however greatly indebted to my co-worker, Mrs. C. Mabel RICKMERS, for most kindly making my principle her own, in doing which I believe her to have achieved full success.

One difficulty met with by every translator of an Indian text lies in the multitude of the synonyms. It is impossible for us to imitate them. Consider for a moment the many terms for "King". In order to be as fair as possible to the conditions of the original, we have reserved, though with occasional exceptions, the translation "King" for *rājan*. Combinations with *pati* (like *dharaṇīpati* etc.) we have rendered by "ruler", those with *pa* or *pāla* (like *bhūmipa* etc.) by "monarch", other terms by "sovereign". That proper names with variants such as *Parakkamabāhu* and *-bhūja* have been unified will probably meet with approval.

The second volume will contain a detailed chronological introduction with a list of the kings, as well as a full index. As the German text is almost finished and the English rendering already in progress, we should not now have to wait long for the completion of the whole work.

The last ten chapters it is true, are not an unmixed joy for the translator. The language is faulty, the style clumsy,

often very stilted. Instead of the long-winded, stereotyped descriptions of festivals and bounties, one would like to hear more of those outward events which just in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries shook the old Sinhalese kingdom to its foundations. To make good the omissions of the Chronicle here would mean writing a new history of Ceylon. This has already been done by more competent scholars and where it seemed desirable, I have referred to their works in my notes.

Lastly I would ask the reader before using the book, to be kind enough to consult the appendices and to take note of corrections and also of emendations in the original text.

Munich-Neubiberg

November 1928

WILH. GEIGER.

INTRODUCTION

I

As to the credibility of the Cūlavamsa: the history of Parakkamabāhu's youth

The question of the credibility of the Cūlavamsa cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. It is somewhat more complicated than that of the more ancient Mahāvamsa whose author kept more closely and I might say, more naively to his source. One thing is certain: the compiler of the first part of the Cūlavamsa (chaps. 37-79) with which I am at present dealing, did not consciously relate what was false. What he tells us is drawn from his own knowledge, as derived from his sources and his personal conviction. That much valuable material is contained therein is shown by the way in which various statements are confirmed by inscriptions. In the notes to my translation I have repeatedly referred to these corroborations of the Cūlavamsa. Moreover statements in one part of the work are frequently confirmed by passages in another part. How remarkably for instance, do the geographical data in chaps. 65-67 regarding the flight of Prince Parakkamabāhu from Saṅkhatthali in Dakkhinadesa correspond with those in chaps. 70 and 72 in the description of the campaign against Rājaraṭṭha. CODRINGTON has shown that plainly enough.

But two points must be borne in mind. The compiler — let us call him Dhammakitti — was after all a bhikkhu and the sources of which he made use were written by bhikkhus,

the records forming the foundation were written down in the spirit and in the interests of the Buddhist Church. They were in the main apparently *puññapottthakani* (cf. Mhvs. 32. 25) that is registers of meritorious works by which the prince had furthered the Church (*sāsana*) and the laity (*loka*). About such things therefore we are particularly well informed. We hear of the vihāras built by the king, of the repairs he had had undertaken on the more ancient buildings, of his bounty to the needy, the poor and the sick and above all to the priesthood. Of much however, equally interesting if not more interesting to the historian we hear nothing at all. It is these gaps of which one has a growing consciousness without being able to lay one's finger with certainty on them, which constitute the chief lack in the narrative of the Cūlavamsa. Not what is said but what is left unsaid is the besetting difficulty of Sinhalese history.

To take but one example — how explain the fact that of so mighty a work as the fortress of Sīgiri not a single detail is described? Even the name is only mentioned in four places. And yet this is perhaps the most magnificent building of which Ceylon can boast. It is not impossible that the personality of Kassapa I. might appear in a different light if a layman and not a priest had been the author of the chronicle.

I must repeat here that not the least doubt is thrown on Dhammakitti's good faith by such criticisms. They merely point out the range of ideas by which his work was conditioned and restricted.

It is of course clear that it was not solely of such *puññāni* that Dhammakitti's sources and tradition had to tell. We hear also of secular proceedings¹ with which often enough the "meritorious works" of the princes were connected. But it is indisputable that what the Cūlavamsa had above all in mind was the relation of the king to the church. This relation fills so large a space in the narrative that if we follow it

¹ That the Sinhalese kings had records kept of the events of their reigns is clear from 59. 7-9.

alone the history of Ceylon takes on a hue not quite in keeping with fact. Unfortunately we are not in a position to fill up satisfactorily the gaps in the historical tradition. Later Sinhalese writings are not essentially different in character and the inscriptions which would undoubtedly be our best source, are unfortunately occupied almost entirely with ecclesiastical matters. Nevertheless certain of these give much desired confirmation of purely secular events mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa*. Their importance for its chronology will be dealt with later.

A further point. Already Mahānāma the author of the older *Mahāvamsa*, was fain to create a *kāvya*, an artificial poem, and he was no stranger to the rules of *alaṃkāra*. But this is true in a still higher degree of Dhammakitti. He was a man of literary culture. I believe I have proved in the notes to my translation of 66. 129 ff. that he must have been acquainted with Indian Nīti literature, perhaps with its chief work, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya. These literary reminiscences were of course not without influence on his attitude towards historical events and persons.

Above all is this true of the personality of Parakkamabāhu. I should like to elaborate this point further. For Bishop COPLESTON is perfectly right in regarding the history of Parakkama as the real kernel, the main subject of the *Cūlavamsa*, especially of the first part which was the work of Dhammakitti, and in speaking of a Parakkama epic¹.

Now if we look closely at the figure of Parakkamabāhu as it meets us in the *Cūlavamsa*, especially at the period before he achieved universal sovereignty, we find ourselves faced by a series of contradictions and improbabilities. We are convinced that things did not happen historically in that way. Nor is it possible to form a harmonious and credible picture of the single acts attributed to the youthful Parakkama.

The explanation lies in Dhammakitti's conception of the way in which his task was to be achieved. From literary

¹ JRAS. C. B. nr. 44, 1893, p. 60 ff.

sources, from what he had read he drew an ideal picture of an Indian king. The man whose glorification was his aim must correspond to this picture. He must have all the qualities belonging to an Indian king and employ all the methods of statecraft which political science prescribes or recommends. All these individual traits the compiler combines with the data furnished by tradition, without question as to probability or improbability of these.

According to the *Cūlavamsa* the youth of Parakkama was passed somewhat as follows:

Parakkamabāhu is the son of the eldest of the three brothers Mānābharāṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha who rule over Dakkhiṇadesa and Rohaṇa in opposition to Vikkamabāhu who holds the royal dignity in virtue of his possession of Rājaraṭṭha with its capital Pulatthinagara. Parakkama's father Mānābharāṇa has retained as his share the important province of Dakkhiṇadesa, Rohaṇa is divided between the two younger brothers.

The birth of the prince is accompanied by all kinds of miraculous phenomena. Vikkamabāhu is informed of it and wishes to bring the boy up at his court in order to make him his heir instead of his own son. Mānābharāṇa, however, refuses and dies soon after of a disease. Thereupon his next brother, Kittisirimegha takes over Dakkhiṇadesa and leaves the whole of Rohaṇa to the youngest, Sirivallabha who brings Mānābharāṇa's widow Ratanāvalī, her two daughters Mittā and Pabhāvati and the youthful Parakkama to take up their abode in his capital of Mahānāgahula. Meanwhile Vikkamabāhu also dies and is succeeded in Rājaraṭṭha by his son Gajabāhu who maintains himself against Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha.

The youthful Parakkama finds no scope in Rohaṇa, so he betakes himself to his uncle in Dakkhiṇadesa who receives him joyfully. He lives with him in the chief locality of the country Saṅkhatthalī. He finishes his education and his coming of age is celebrated with festivities. The Senāpati Saṅkha who was stationed in Badalatthalī, is entrusted with the

preparations for the festival. Sirivallabha dies in Rohaṇa and is succeeded by his son, the younger Mānābharaṇa.

Parakkama's ambition finds no satisfaction in Dakkhiṇadesa. He hankers after the royal dignity in Rājaraṭṭha and determines to go thither and discover conditions for himself. Of dissensions between the prince and his uncle there is never any word. On the contrary, the fiction is constantly upheld that Kittisirimegha is tenderly attached to his nephew, and that it is only fear of the dangers involved which makes him discourage the visit to Rājaraṭṭha.

So the prince leaves Saṅkhatthalī secretly and comes first to Badalatthalī where he has the Senāpati Saṅkha killed because he had informed¹ the king of Parakkama's flight. He then goes northwards to Buddhagāma not far from the borders of Rājaraṭṭha. The inhabitants of the country make repeated efforts to check the prince's advance but he repulses all such attempts by force of arms.

Parakkama's uncle meanwhile, alarmed at his nephew's disappearance, consults with his ministers (66. 57 ff.) and sends a strong force to fetch him back. But it is ambushed by the prince and completely routed. He even pursues the pursuers (66. 82 ff.) and surprises them by a night assault in Khīravāpi. After repulsing a cowntre attack he proceeds to cross the frontiers of Rājaraṭṭha.

Gajabāhu is apparently greatly alarmed but puts a good face on the matter and greets the guest through messengers with gifts, marches to meet him in person and fetch him to the capital.

During his sojourn in Pulatthinagara Parakkamabāhu enmeshes the town and its surroundings in a net of espionage

¹ The compiler is obviously at a loss to account for Parakkama's action. In 65. 35 ff. the affair is so described as if circumstances had driven the prince to it, but he had already (v. 21 ff.) declared his intention of committing an extraordinary deed — the allusion can only be to the removal of Saṅkha — by which his courage and determination would be proved. Thus even Dhammakitti admits that the action was deliberately planned.

(66. 129 ff.). He goes the length of wedding his sister Bhaddavatī to King Gajabāhu in order to lull his suspicions. He himself keeps her dowry, or at least the greater part of it, in his own hands.

Eventually however, the prince has fears that Gajabāhu may see through his intentions and he leaves the town secretly at night to return to Dakkhinadesa (67. 32 ff.). During this flight he meets with all kinds of adventures in which his personal courage is put to the test. Kittisirimegha is delighted at the return of his nephew and sends messengers to Saraggāma to meet him. The prince however, hesitates — the reason is not given — to enter the capital Sankhatthali. His mother comes from Rohaṇa and persuades him to do so. He is joyfully received by Kittisirimegha who dies shortly afterwards when Parakkamabāhu takes over the sovereignty of the province.

What then is the character of Parakkamabāhu if we follow tradition? Here I go beyond the chapter whose contents I have just sketched, the question is what kind of personality had Dhammakitti in mind when he gave a poetical picture of his hero. Of course he is extraordinarily fearless and courageous. High-sounding words are put into his mouth. With his weapon alone for which he calls, will he strike terror into the foe (66. 31). He is capable alone of facing all his enemies, as the lion needs no allies when he tears elephants in pieces (72. 88). No one, not even the king of the gods can cross the frontiers of his realm, so long as he is in life (72. 154). Were he fain to seize the sovereignty in Pulatthinagara, the wrinkling of his brows were sufficient thereto (67. 12).

What then of the deeds? An action reminiscent of a feat of Alexander the Great is described 66. 87 ff. during the attack on Khīravāpi. Parakkamabāhu's people are unable to break through the barricade of thorns which surrounds the place. Thereupon he pierces it alone and announces his name with resounding voice. That suffices to scatter the enemy in all directions. The scene described 66. 104 may also be mentioned

here. But the narratives of the courage displayed by the prince against a she-bear that attacked him in the wilderness (67. 41) and against a boar (67. 44), savour rather of an invention of the author for elaborating the events and adorning the poem. In contrast to these we have in the miraculous story of the male elk (70. 33 ff.) which attacks Parakkamabāhu during the chase and shedding his antlers directly in front of him, falls to the ground, possibly a piece of ancient tradition. Are we not told that the antlers with an inscription describing the occurrence "are even now" preserved in the royal treasury?

In the great military engagements against Gajabāhu and still later against the revolt in Rohaṇa Parakkamabāhu keeps completely in the background. It is his generals who carry out his plans. Without doubt this tallies with the actual conditions of the time. The heroic age of a Duṭṭhagāmaṇi belongs to the past and where Parakkamabāhu is depicted as a hero of this stamp we have, at least as a rule, to do with the creations of poetic imagination, with literary ornamentation. Highly characteristic is the episode described 72. 95 ff. where it looks as if Parakkamabāhu at a critical moment intended to save the situation. He calls for his Sihala sword. But it is not he who wields it but two of his officers whose efforts at saving the position were only partially successful.

To place Parakkamabāhu's courage in the best possible light Dhammakitti makes use of two purely literary devices. In his youth he is a harmless, almost childlike nature. He takes pleasure in music, games and dancing (70. 30-31), even on serious occasions where it seems to us almost inappropriate. When he is attacked in Nāvāgirisa by the pursuers sent by his uncle, he is playing a game to which he had been accustomed from childhood (66. 101), and when he has crossed the frontiers of the "King's Province", Rājaraṭṭha, he devotes himself for days to the local games (66. 111). When his position is apparently most critical and his attendants take flight he proudly conscious of his personal worth, has nothing but a cheerful smile (66. 30, 72. 99) even when as after the

death of the Adhikārin Rakkha (72. 87), it seems to us hardly appropriate.

Again, what a brilliant contrast is Parakkamabāhu's heroism to the almost grotesque cowardice of his own people as also of the enemy. When the inhabitants of Buddhagāma prepare to attack the prince, his own people flee in all directions (66. 28). At the mere sound of his voice Kittisirimegha's soldiers in Khīravāpi take flight leaving behind their clothes and weapons (66. 90). When attacked in Nāvāgirisā his own people flee to the wilderness without striking a blow (66. 105) and only meet again when they hear their ruler's voice. Before the she-bear and the elk the people take to their heels leaving their prince in the lurch¹.

Here Dhammakitti manifestly does his countrymen an injustice. The Sinhalese are perhaps not naturally a warlike race, but they can hardly be so cowardly, so senselessly cowardly as they are here depicted. Against the Portuguese they at times gave proof of a death-despising courage. In Parakkamabāhu's times they were certainly not mere cravens. If the poet paints them as such he does it so that the figure of his hero should stand forth the more brilliantly against such a background. The methods employed by Dhammakitti for attaining this end, seem naive and clumsy enough, but we must remember that he himself as a bhikkhu would have but little idea or understanding of military matters.

The following is typical of Dhammakitti's standpoint. During all the events described in 64 and the following paricchēdas it is deliberately stated that the relation between Parakkamabāhu and his uncle Kittisirimegha was always one of fatherly love on the one side and of deep gratitude on the other. The prince himself stresses this with zeal 66. 12 ff. And according to 67. 56 ff., 84 ff. the uncle welcomes the return of his nephew from Pulatthinagara with heartfelt joy.

¹ For us the description in 66. 47 ff. of how the Nagaragiri Gokanna was seized with terror as the result of a dream sounds comical, almost ludicrous. Dreams however, had at that time for the Sinhalese a quite peculiar significance, as indeed they still have.

The reason why the compiler holds so firmly to this fiction is clear. The ideal figure of Parakkama must be protected against the possible reproach of ingratitude. The facts however, will not tally with the fiction. Already the words put into the uncle's mouth 66. 58 ff. throw a different light on their relations. Then comes the brutal murder of the Senāpati Sena who was obviously a particularly loyal vassal of Kittisirimegha to whom his death must have been a painful loss. Further the fact that the prince had to fight his way through the various provinces whose inhabitants obviously looked upon him as somewhat of a rebel and traitor. Kittisirimegha himself sends troops after the fugitive who scatters them in a series of skirmishes. Without doubt the description of these fights is accompanied by a great many exaggerations. Parakkamabāhu cannot possibly come to Pulatthinagara at the head of a whole army. But the spirit in which the accounts of these conflicts are conceived is irreconcilable with the fiction of untroubled relations between uncle and nephew.

Then finally the return of the prince to Dakkhinadesa after Pulatthinagara had obviously become too hot to hold him. We are forced to ask what made him delay so long at the frontier (67. 59 ff.). The reason must have been his uncertainty as to the reception he was likely to get from the monarch. This explains too the part played here by Parakkamabāhu's mother. She feels it to be her task to reconcile the two or rather to induce the uncle to give his nephew a favorable reception. She plays the part of mediator.

If now we consider dispassionately the facts as set forth by the chronicle, leaving aside all the inaccuracies due to the character and tendencies of the author, we get I believe a quite intelligible picture of the youthful Parakkamabāhu.

The most striking characteristic of the prince is his ambition and his activity. In Mahānāgahula life with his mother and sisters is too restricted. He dreams of great enterprises. The union of the whole of Ceylon in his hand is the ideal before him at this period. It is possible that his mother, the proud Ratanāvalī (cf. 63. 11 ff.) inspired him with these plans

and fed them. At any rate it is the idea of greater possibilities for his own activity which makes him leave Mahānāgahula and betake himself to Dakkhinadesa to the court of his uncle Kittisirimegha. That this province was politically of more consequence than that of Rohaṇa is clear from the way in which the provinces were divided among the three brothers, as I have shown above p. vii. Kittisirimegha has no eligible son as his successor, he receives the young prince therefore with open arms and the relation between uncle and nephew was plainly for some time a friendly one. But it changed. Owing to the bias of the chronicle, we have neither knowledge nor means of judging of the details. The main cause at any rate lay in the restless activity of the young prince. It may be that Kittisirimegha himself felt uncertain of him or that he feared being drawn by him into difficulties with Gajabāhu II., the king of Rājaraṭṭha. Parakkamabāhu will have realised himself that his position at the court of Saṅkhatthalī had become untenable. Accompanied by his devoted attendants he flees from the town at night to betake himself to King Gajabāhu. Now we see that Parakkamabāhu is by no means the innocent youth described in the chronicle. He shrinks from no deed of blood if it is in the interests of his plans and of his own safety.

The murder of the Senāpati Saṅkha seems hardly intelligible if we accept the motive alleged for it by the chronicle. The reality was certainly otherwise. We may assume that at first the prince hoped to bring Kittisirimegha's powerful vassal over to his own side. But Saṅkha remained true to his master. The prince has now reason to fear that Saṅkha may seize and deliver him up to the monarch. The danger for him is great, for Kittisirimegha would doubtless look upon him as a rebel and punish him as such. Thus he determines on extremes and has Saṅkha slain. What was thought of this deed is proved by the way it again and again later on throws its shadow on the actions of Parakkamabāhu.

Gajabāhu seems (cf. 66. 112) to have received the news of Parakkamabāhu's approach with decidedly mixed feelings. He

knew of course enough of his dangerous temperament. On the other hand it is certain that even then the prince was looked upon as an exceptional personality gifted with extraordinary qualities. The king must have regarded Kittisirimegha as his most serious rival. He may have hoped to gain the prince as ally against this rival. In any case however, it was politically short-sighted to receive him with such honour and to place more trust in him than prudence warranted.

Parakkamabāhu probably employed his sojourn in Pulatthina-gara to find out the conditions obtaining in Rājaraṭṭha. We may be sure however, that this was not done in the way described 66. 129 ff. Here Dhammakitti as I hope I have shown in my notes to the whole passage, conforms to the whole scheme of the Indian Nīti Literature, exhibiting his knowledge of it with great complacency. At any rate the prince by his whole conduct arouses more and more the suspicions of Gajabāhu and his counsellors so that in the same way as he fled from Saṅkhatthali, he leaves the capital at night convinced that he has been detected. But there is one remarkable difference. Gajabāhu seemingly sends no armed messengers out to fetch back the fugitive. He was probably glad to be rid of a guest who was becoming so dangerous.

Parakkamabāhu's mother, as I assume, reconciles him with his uncle whose death shortly afterwards solves all difficulties.

My remarks are an attempt to remove the facts of a circumscribed period of Sinhalese history from the light in which the compiler of the *Cūlavamsa* saw and was forced by his mentality to see them and to place them in the light of historical consideration. I repeat that this is merely an attempt. But the employment of this or similar methods may possibly prove fruitful in the interpretation of native tradition.

II

Kingship and the Law of Succession in mediaeval Ceylon

The form of government in mediaeval Ceylon was to all appearance of course despotic. The king is head and crown of the state. The state does not exist for itself but for the king. All attributes of power and greatness are heaped on the king. Yet in his decisions and actions he is by no means so free as one might imagine. In these he is strongly influenced and also restricted by custom which has assumed the force of law, by the *pubbacārittaṃ* — use and wont. Again and again it is said in praise of the best princes that in their actions they followed former kings, that they did not stray from the path of tradition. This conservative trait forms without doubt a strong counterbalance to the ideas of unlimited power which the popular mind associates with the idea of sovereignty.

There exist a number of names and titles for "king". With no term is the Indian love of synonyms so marked as with this one. It is unnecessary to enumerate the many and varied terms for "king". They are the crux of every translator. The expression "king" I have reserved for *rājan*. Then there come in addition *mahārāja*, *rājādhirāja*, used 75. 203 of Parakkambāhu I. which last however is an ancient title. It is used already in the Taittiriya āraṇyaka 1. 31. 6. For the ruler of a small island like Ceylon the titles strike us at times as somewhat grandiose: *mahīpati*, *mahīpāla*, *dharaṇīpati*, *bhūpati*, *bhūpāla*, *jagatīpati*, *narapati*, *narādhipa*, *narādhinātha* etc. One must bear in mind that these titles have by frequent and arbitrary use — very often it is the metre that decides the matter — become worn down and defaced. It would not be in keeping with the mentality of the compiler of the Cūlavamsa if we were to translate these expressions always by "ruler of the earth" and the like.

Next to the king comes the queen, the *mahesī*, his chief consort in contrast to the unrestricted number of concubines, the harem (*orodha*, *antepura*). In the case of the *mahesī* equality of birth is strictly enforced and only her sons have a right to the succession. Herr HOCART expressed to me the opinion that there were two *mahesīs* and pointed out the mention of the queens Anulādevī and Somadevī in Mhvs. 33. 45–46. He is certainly right. It is also expressly stated of Vijayabāhu I. (59. 25 and 30) that he raised two princesses to the dignity of *mahesī*, first Līlāvati and then Tilokasundarī (*mahesitte abhiseccayī*, *-sīncī*) and a *duṭṭiyā devī* of Mānābharaṇa of Rohaṇa is mentioned in 64. 24. The mention of the title *aggamaheśī* (54. 10; 70. 33) inclines us to believe that there was a difference in rank between the two *mahesīs*. This assumption however receives no support from the inscription of Potgul-vehera in Polonnaruwa in which Queen Candavati is described as *duṭṭiyaṃ aggataṃ gata*, that she was the second *aggamaheśī* of Parakkamabāhu together with the first, Līlāvati¹.

Special titles also exist for the sons and daughters of the reigning king, for the princes and princesses (*rājaputta*, *rājaputti*), for the sons the title *ādipāda*, for the daughters that of *rājinī*. The fact that *rājinī* is not merely a general term for "queen", but also a particular title with a particular rank corresponding to the title *ādipāda* for princes is clear from 49. 3. Udaya I. makes his eldest son yuvarāja, the other sons ādipādas, the daughters rājinīs. In the same way Sena I. according to 50. 58 raises his daughters to the rank of rājinīs (*rājinīthāne*) and Mahinda IV. according to 54. 11 makes his sons ādipādas and his daughter rājinī².

¹ See now A. M. HOCART, Duplication of Office in Indian State, A: The Two Queens (CJSc. G, I, p. 207 ff.). I may add, that Nissanka Malla in the Galpota Inscription (B, line 2; EZ. II. 106) also mentions two *mahesīs*, Subhadrā and Kalyāṇa.

² The correction of *copirājinīm* into *cāpi rājinīm* is doubtless preferable to the *coparājinīm* of S. and B. An *uparājinī* certainly never existed. The reading *rājinīkatā* too in 60. 84 which I have adopted in the text, shows that Vijayabāhu I raised his daughter Yasodharā to the

As to the title *ādīpāda*, we first meet with it in 41. 34. Here it is stated that Silākāla bestowed it on his eldest son Moggallāna (later King M. II). Two passages dealing with the granting of the title by the king to his sons are just quoted (49. 3; 54. 11). Dappula II. does not make the son of his eldest brother Mahinda *ādīpāda*, because, contrary to the existing law (see below), he wishes to leave the crown to his own sons. Thus it seems that with the title is bound up the acknowledgment of the right of succession. Thus it is legally borne (50. 8 and 25) by Udaya and Kassapa as younger brothers and presumptive heirs of Sena I. Likewise by Dappula (afterwards D. IV.) 53. 1 as brother of Dappula III., and 53. 4 by Udaya (afterwards U. III.) as nephew and heir of Dappula IV. Vijayabāhu I. grants his youngest brother Jayabāhu the rank of *ādīpāda* (*ādīpādapadaṇi* 59. 12), while his brother next in age Vīrabāhu receives the dignity of an *uparāja*. Later on after the death of Vīrabāhu (60. 86-88) Jayabāhu becomes *uparāja* and Vikkamabāhu, Vijayabāhu's son, becomes *ādīpāda*.

It is self understood that with the ascent of the throne or more strictly speaking with the *abhiseka*, the consecration of the king, the title of *ādīpāda* lapses. Mahinda I. who repudiates this ceremony is called *ādīpāda* throughout the whole of his reign (48. 31, 68).

The granting of the title seems to have some connection with the coming of age. It is said at least of Kittī afterwards Vijayabāhu I. in 57. 61, that he attained the "rank of an *ādīpāda*" in his fifteenth year. Here the political conditions of the time preclude the idea of an act on the part of the reigning king. At first sight it may strike one as strange that the title of *ādīpāda* should be ascribed to Dappula, the sister's son of Aggabodhi VI. 48. 90, 93 and also to his two nephews 48. 116 who were otherwise (48. 110) designated simply as "princes". According to the prevailing law Dappula

dignity of a *rājini* and that she then had the building erected which is mentioned in the verse.

has no claim to the succession, but as we shall see, he was an ardent champion of another law. Thus he must have claimed the title advisedly, as did his two relatives who on their side declared themselves his legitimate heirs.

The eldest *ādipāda*, the one nearest the throne bears the title of *mahaādipāda*, *mahādipāda* "grand *ādipāda*". Mahinda as the eldest of the three younger brothers of Sena I. is so named 50. 10, the two others, Udaya and Kassapa (see above), are *ādipādas*. Thus the title of *mahādipāda* is closely allied with the term *yuvarāja*. It is expressly said of this Mahinda (50. 6) that he was *yuvarāja*. Udaya II. confers the dignity of a *mahādipāda* (*mahādipādathānamhi thapi* 51. 91) on his brother Kassapa who in the sequel becomes his successor (52. 1). For lack of an heir male Aggabodhi I. appoints his sister's son of the same name *mahādipāda* (42. 38), and is eventually succeeded by him on the throne. Kittī-Vijaya-bāhu I. is in Rohaṇa after the subjugation of his foes. But henceforth he has the position of *yuvarāja* (*yuvarāḥapade* 58. 1) until his consecration as king and bears the title of a *mahādipāda* (58. 7). The *mahādipāda* of the usurper Dāṭhopatissa was according to 44. 136, his nephew Ratanadāṭha. But at the same time Kassapa (afterwards K. II.) is described as *yuvarāja* (44. 137) since as younger brother of the legitimate king Aggabodhi III. Sirisaṃghabodhi he had the right to the succession. The granting of the title *mahādipāda* seems from 67. 91 to have been a festive act, the prince receiving a fillet which was obviously his special badge.

It may be mentioned that the two titles *ādipāda* and *mahādipāda* frequently occur¹ in inscriptions in the forms *apā* and *mahapā*.

¹ See WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I, Index s. vv. That *mahayā* also (see l. c. p. 26, n. 4; p. 98, n. 5; p. 187, n. 6; p. 225, n. 3) should stand for *mahādipāda* raises doubts. The disappearance of *p* in the joint of the compound is surprising. In favour of the identification, meanwhile, is the fact that the frequently occurring phrase *āpa mahayā siri vinda* (EZ. I. 25, 91, 221) is replaced in the inscription of the Jetavanārāma (EZ. I. 234) by *ayipaya mahapaya siri vinda*. CODRINGTON has every

The heir to the throne has as we have seen, the title *yuvarāja*. This brings us to the question of the right of succession obtaining in mediaeval Ceylon. But first a remark on the relation of the term *yuvarāja* to that of *uparāja*.

In the first place I must point out that the investiture of the *uparāja* was a solemn ceremony. The *uparāja* is "consecrated" like the king or the mahesī (*Mānaṃ oparajje 'bhisin̄ciya* 44. 84; *oparajje kumāraṃ ca abhisin̄cittha* 48. 42, cf. 48. 69; *Mahindaṃ . . . oparajje 'bhisecayi* 51. 7; cf. 51. 12). So far as I can see, the expression "consecrate" is never used of the *yuvarāja*. One is *yuvarāja* either in virtue of the right of succession or if necessary or desirable, the position of *yuvarāja* is conferred like an office or a title (*adāsi yuvarājattam* 49. 3; *yuvarājapadam adā* 52. 42, 53. 4, 54. 1 and 58); one is nominated *yuvarāja* (*yuvarājaṃ akā* 53. 28), appointed to the position (*ṭhapetvā yuvarājatte* 45. 23). It is self understood that these expressions of a more general kind are also used for the appointment of an *uparāja* (ex. 41. 93, 42. 6, 48. 32). The main point is that where a "consecration" is spoken of (*abhi-sic*) this has never reference to a *yuvarāja* but always and without exception to an *uparāja*.

A *yuvarāja* is found in every reign along with the king. Of a more limited number of rulers it is related that they appointed an *uparāja*. Frequently the *yuvarāja* is invested with this dignity. We can almost say that this was the rule, so that the announcement of the appointment of an *uparāja* contains the information that the individual in question was at the same time the heir to the throne. Aggabodhi III. consecrates his younger brother Māna (44. 84) *uparāja*, his heir to the throne according to the law, and described later (44. 123) as *yuvarāja*. After Māna's premature death his next youngest brother Kassapa becomes *uparāja* and *yuvarāja* (44. 124, 137). In the same way Mahinda is the *uparāja* of his father Aggabodhi VII. and is called in the sequel *yuvarāja*

right to point to this passage when he explains *Māyāratṭha* as *Mahādipāda-ratṭha*.

(48. 69, 75). The same is the case with an unnamed son of Mahinda II. who however dies before him. It is related of Vijayabāhu I. that he first made his next youngest brother uparāja (59. 11), thus acknowledging him as his heir, his yuvarāja. On his death he transfers the dignity of uparāja to the youngest brother Jayabāhu (60. 86, 87), who is then (61. 3) called yuvarāja.

In view of these instances the appointment of another individual than the yuvarāja to be uparāja would seem to be a rare exception due to very special circumstances. Aggabodhi I. for instance, appoints as uparāja his maternal uncle, but the yuvarāja is his younger brother (42. 6) who is not even named and presumably died before the king. Sena II. consecrates as uparāja his younger brother Mahinda who was also yuvarāja (51. 7, 13). After his quarrel with Mahinda he transfers the dignity of uparāja to his own son Kassapa (51. 12). In his disappointment at his experiences he probably wished to exclude his brothers altogether from the succession but this he fails to do. Mahinda remains nevertheless yuvarāja and at his death his place is taken by the next youngest brother of the king, Udaya (51. 63).

The matter, I think, is clear and just what one has from the first expected. Yuvarāja is the legitimate heir to the throne. The dignity of uparāja on the other hand, is a position of trust carrying with it certain rights, apparently a share in the business of government. It seems to have been a matter of the king's pleasure whether to have such a support in his royal office or not.

As to the right of succession, the rule was that the next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne. Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation. There are frequent instances of such a sequence.

Aggabodhi V. is succeeded by his younger brother Kassapa III. he being followed by the third brother Mahinda I. Then the succession passes to the next generation and as Aggabodhi

apparently left no son of equal rank. to Kassapa's son Aggabodhi VI. If he had had brothers capable of succeeding him, they would have been his heirs. As this was not the case, Aggabodhi VII. the son of Mahinda becomes king after him (48. 1, 20, 26, 42, 68).

Sena II. has three brothers. Mahinda the eldest of them is yuvarāja (51. 13). He dies however, before the king Hereupon the next brother Udaya II. becomes heir and successor of Sena II. (51. 63, 90) and after him the youngest brother Kassapa IV. (51, 91; 52. 1). Hereupon it is the turn of the next generation and in the first instance the sons of Sena II. — Kassapa V., Dappula III. and Dappula IV., then those of Mahinda — Udaya III., Sena III. and Udaya IV. Of Kassapa V. it is expressly stated that he came to the throne in regular succession, that is according to the existing law (*kamāgato* 52. 37). Udaya II. and Kassapa IV. seem to have left no legitimate heirs. Thus after the death of Mahinda's youngest son the sons of Kassapa V., Sena IV. (53. 39; *Laṅkābhisekaṃ kamāgataṃ* 54. 1) and Mahinda IV. (54 1, 7) come to the throne.

After the three brothers — Mahinda III., Aggabodhi VIII. and Dappula II. — had reigned in regular succession (49. 38, 43, 65) the crown went by rights to the like-named son of the eldest of them. But Dappula desires to reserve it for his own son. Hence he does not make the younger Mahinda (8) ādipāda. That this was a breach of the law is clear from 49. 84. Mahinda betakes himself full of resentment to India.

An important point is the custom of bestowing on the yuvarāja, the Southern Province — Dakkhinadesa — that is the region west of the central mountains as far as the sea-coast (45. 23; 50. 49; 51. 19; 52. 1). This was after Rājaraṭṭha economically and politically the most important province in the kingdom, even more so than Rohaṇa which always maintained a more independent and special position. Dakkhinadesa is in consequence directly described as *yuvarā-jaraṭṭha* 67. 26 and 79. 60. According to CODRINGTON, as already mentioned above (p. xviii note), the name of Māyāraṭṭha

which appears later (81. 15, 18, 62; 87. 24) would mean the same, being derived, as he explains, from *Mahādpādaratṭha*.

Without doubt the Sinhalese right of succession rests on patriarchy. Nevertheless in Ceylon as elsewhere in India, remnants of an older matriarchy have been preserved. This is particularly noticeable in the part played by the sister's son, the *bhāgineyya*. The fact of this relationship being designated by a special term is in itself significant (Skr. *bhāgineya*). For a brother's sons no such term exists. They are merely called *sūnavo*. Thus Parakkamabāhu is called (63. 51) the son (*sūnu*) of his uncle Kittisirimegha who again is called his father (*pitā* 63. 53). Their relationship to one another is always described as that between father and son. The three brothers Mānābharana, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha are even described as the "three fathers" of the youthful Parakkamabāhu (64. 33, 55). One is reminded of the conditions of ancient polyandry.

If a distinction is to be made between the uncle who is the father's elder brother, and between the father's younger brother, the first is called the *mahāpitā* and the second the *cullapitā*. Thus Sena I. is the *mahāpitā* of Sena II. (51. 24). The cousins who are the sons of two brothers call themselves quite consistently brothers, as for instance, Aggabodhi VI. and Aggabodhi VII. (48. 61), the sons of the brothers Kasapa III. and Mahinda I. Thus Buddhaghosa calls Ānanda the brother of the Buddha because he was the son of his uncle (*Tathāgatassa bhātā cullapitru-putto* DCo. I. 4).

It is undoubtedly the case that the sister's son enjoyed a certain preference: the last remnant of that special position accorded to him under matriarchy. Dhātusena's sister's son holds the important office of *senāpati* and receives the king's daughter in marriage (38. 81). In the same way Dappula II marries his daughter Devā to his sister's son Kittagabodhi (49. 71).

This remnant of an earlier matriarchy can at times be a furthering or a disturbing factor in the right of succession. Aggabodhi I. makes his brother *yuvārāja* and appoints his

sister's son *malayarāja*. Later on he gives him his daughter in marriage and confers on him the dignity of *mahādīpāda*. This sister's son afterwards ascends the throne as successor of his uncle under the name of Aggabodhi II. (42. 6, 10, 38, 40). It is not necessary to assume a breach of the law here. We may suppose that the younger brother of Aggabodhi I., the original yuvarāja, had died before him. As no male heir existed, the crown might legally go to the relative in the female line¹.

The matter is somewhat different in the case of Kassapa II. He had it is true, no younger brother but he had sons of whom the eldest Mānaka was his legal successor. As these sons however were minors, he summons his sister's son Māna from Rohaṇa and entrusts him with his sons and with the kingdom. Here we have a regency carried on however, after Kassapa's death, not by Māna but by his father Dappula, Kassapa's brother-in-law. The whole affair causes serious disturbances in the kingdom (45. 6 ff.).

A zealous champion of matriarchy and of his claims to the throne based on it was Dappula, the *bhāgineyya* of King Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha. He waged a long and obstinate fight with Mahinda II., Aggabodhi's son who was the legal heir, no younger brother existing. He was supported in his struggle by two sister's sons in Rohaṇa who in their turn hoped to become his heirs (48. 90, 98 ff.). Here we have obviously matriarchy against patriarchy.

Of special interest is what is related as to the settlement of the succession after the death of Vijayabāhu I. (61. 1 ff.). The yuvarāja is his youngest brother Jayabāhu. If he ascended the throne then Vijayabāhu's son Vikkamabāhu who is sojourning in Rohaṇa, would be his heir and successor. But now begin the intrigues of Mittā, the sister of Vijayabāhu and Jayabāhu, who taking her stand on matriarchy seeks to divert the crown to her line. In agreement with the highest court officials she decides that Jayabāhu shall indeed be con-

¹ Parakkamabāhu I. is also succeeded by his *bhāgineyya* Vijayabāhu (80. 1), since the male line is extinct.

secrated king over Laṅkā, but that the dignity of uparāja and therewith the succession (see above p. xix f.) shall be conferred on her eldest son Mānābharaṇa to the exclusion of Vikkama-bāhu. That was a coup d'Etat and the chronicle too says expressly that here was a distinct breach with old established custom (*pubbacārittamagga*).

By way of supplement a brief remark on the dignity of the *malayarāja*. It is not clear whether this was conferred only on members of the royal family. Malaya is the name of the central mountain region of Ceylon which however, according to the testimony of the Cūlavamsa (70. 3 ff.) was in Parakkamabāhu's time, that is in the 12th century, still a wilderness. Nevertheless the title "Malaya King" must have denoted some kind of dominion, if only a nominal one, over that province.

Silākāla makes his second son Dāṭhāpabhuti *malayarāja* (41. 35). The *yuvarāja* according to law was his elder son Moggallāna (afterwards Moggallana II.). But it was not he but the *malayarāja* who got the province of Dakkhinadesa. Perhaps the custom of bestowing Dakkhinadesa on the *yuvarāja* had not at that time taken root, or else Dāṭhāpabhuti was to be specially favoured. After his father's death he seized the government by force from Moggallāna.

Under Kassapa V. his younger son Siddhattha is *malayarāja* (52. 68), and this would seem to be the normal condition as against the granting of Dakkhinadesa to the eldest son. Under Aggabodhi IV. there is mention of a *Malayarāja* Bodhitissa (46. 29), but nothing is said as to the relation in which he stood to the king. The dignity is conferred by Moggallana III. on the traitorous *senāpati* of his predecessor Samghatissa (44. 43, 53). No conclusion can however be drawn from this. Moggallana III. was apparently himself a usurper. He was commander-in-chief of Aggabodhi II. (44, 2), as Samghatissa before him had been *asiggāha*. Here it was the case of founding a new dynasty.

A later form of the title showing Dravidian influence, is *malayarāyaro* (70. 62, 155).

III

Offices, Dignities and Titles in mediaeval Ceylon

It is interesting to note how the organisation of officialdom and the system of titles became more and more complex, reaching a climax in the middle ages about the time of Parakkamabāhu. The difference between the Cūlavamsa and the older Mahāvamsa is here a very considerable one. In the first we meet with an imposing array of expressions and designations which are absent from the other.

Nor is it easy at times to determine whether a word is merely a general term for an official or whether it is associated with a strictly defined sphere of action. This is the case for instance with *adhikārin* and *adhināyaka* (*adhinātha*)¹. These terms almost certainly represent a difference in degree: for according to 70. 278 Parakkamabāhu conferred on the Adhinātha Māyāgeha as a reward for his military services, the dignity of an *adhikārin* (*adhikāripadam*). The title *Damīlādihikārin* may be mentioned here. It is borne by one of the two Rakkhas, the generals of Parakkamabāhu (75. 20, 69 ff.), further by a *gaṇakāmacca* named Ādicca (76. 39 ff.).

The word *amacca* (Skr. *amātya*) is certainly one of general meaning. It is used alike of civil and military officials. To translate it always by "minister" I believe is wrong. By comparison with what we now understand by that word it gets a shade of meaning foreign to it. *Sāmanta* I believe to be a purely military title. It has the same meaning as our word "officer", corpscommanders of various ranks subject to the commander-in-chief (cf. for ex. 69. 16; 70. 57, 67, 173, 314-6, 319). Even when it stands next to *maṇḍalika* it pro-

¹ Cf. notes to 70. 278 and 72. 10. The word *adhikāra* has also in the Kautaliya the meaning "sphere of action", proper authority, office. Cf. J. J. MEYER, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, das Arthaśāstra des Kautilya*, p. 291, n. 1, p. 480, n. 2.

bably means a military official alongside of the civilian, the governor of a *maṇḍala*, of a larger or of a smaller district (46. 31; 69. 5, 15) by which is apparently meant the smallest division within a province, a *raṭṭha*.

Nāyaka would also seem to be a general term. It about corresponds to the English "Colonel". Sirināga the uncle of Jetṭhatissa III., bears this title 44. 70. Vajiragga is the *nāyaka* of Udaya II. (51. 105, 118) and Rukkha that of Kassapa IV. (52. 31). Not infrequently *nāyaka* is found in compounds thus in *kañcukināyaka* (see note to 72. 58) "Head or chief of the chamberlains", or in *sañkhanāyaka* (70. 278; 72. 31, 41; 75. 75), or in *saṃvaccharikanāyaka* "chief of the astrologers" (57. 48). *Kesadhātunāyaka* (see below) also perhaps denotes a higher rank among the members of the Order of the Kesadhātus. The function of the *kammanāyaka* or *kammanātha* (72. 58, 206; 74. 168) is not clear nor the meaning of the title *disāvijayanāyaka*.

On the other hand it is probably certain that *daṇḍanāyaka* (*daṇḍanātha*) denotes an officer of high rank¹. Our rendering of it by "General" probably meets the case. Amongst the commanders of Parakkamabāhu the two brothers Kitti and Saṃkhadhātu bear the title (70. 279 ff.) as also the Nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa (70. 68) and others (see note to 70. 5).

Head of the whole army is however the *senāpati*². His position was without doubt one of extreme importance and the king only granted it to a man in whom he had the fullest confidence. Dhātusena appoints his sister's son *senāpati* (38. 81). In the same way Parakkamabāhu II. in the war against the

¹ *Daṇḍa* must be taken in the meaning of "army". According to J. J. MEYER (loc. cit. p. 398, n. 3; cf. also p. 834) the expression *daṇḍanāyī* should also be inserted in the Kauṭaliya, the same as the *netā daṇḍasya* of Kāmandaka. Here also a corps-commander is meant.

² In *dhajinīpati* we have nothing but a synonym for *senāpati*. In the translation I have always therefore inserted "senāpati". In the Kauṭaliya (10. 6) the *senāpati* has not a commanding position. He is here commander of 10 *padikas* (?) and there are 10 *senāpatīs* under one *nāyaka*. Cf. J. J. MEYER, l. c. p. 586. SHAMASAstry differs somewhat, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, p. 452.

Jāvakas, entrusts the highest command in the army¹ to his sister's son Virabāhu (83. 41). I do not think however, that the conclusion is warranted that this position was reserved for the *bhāgineyya*. He could indeed become *senāpati* if he had the necessary qualifications and if he possessed the confidence of the monarch, but the king was not bound in his choice by conditions of relationship. Udaya who had distinguished himself by his courage, was made *senāpati* by his father Mahinda II. (48. 154), just as Mahinda, afterwards Mahinda II., was made *senāpati* by his father Aggabodhi VI. Our chronicle mentions a whole series of *senāpatīs* by name without saying whether and how they were related to the king (48. 78). Migāra is the *senāpati* of Kassapa I. (39. 6), Uttara that of Moggallāna I. (39. 58), Vajira of Dappula II. (49. 80), Bhadda of Sena I. (50. 82), Kuṭṭhaka of Sena II. (51. 88), Rakkhaka Ilaṅga of Dappula IV. (53. 11), the *nāyaka* Viduragga of Udaya IV. (53. 46), Sena of Mahinda IV. (54. 13), Deva of Parakkamabāhu I. (70. 123), Mitta of Vijayabāhu IV. (90. 2). Of Sena Ilaṅga, the *senāpati* of Kassapa IV. it is merely said that he belonged to the royal family (52. 16). It would be very remarkable if in all these cases or even in the majority of them the *bhāgineyya* should be meant and the chronicler not mention the fact.

A special title is that of *sakkasenāpati*². Kassapa V. appoints as such his own son (*sakkasenāpatitṭhānaṃ datvā* 52. 52; cf. 52. 61, 64, 72, 74). After his death the dignity is transferred to his son, thus to Kassapa's grandson (52. 79). I believe we have the same title in the *saksenevi* of the Bilibeva inscription (EZ. II. 40 ff.). A synonym of *sakkasenāpati* is *sakkasenānī* (54. 53). Difficult of explanation is the term *andhasenāpati* which occurs but once (41. 87). I am inclined to think that *Andha* here is the Skr. *andhra*, the name of a people which occurs along with such as *pulinda* and *sabara*.

¹ The title *senāpati* is, however, not used here.

² The word means "senāpati of Sakka" (the King of the gods), denotes therefore very high rank. We may infer from its meaning that it was merely a title and not the name of an office with special functions.

Like these two names *Andha* might then have reference to the Vāddās and *andhasenāpati* would be a title with its counterpart in *damilādhikārm*. This last title is borne by one of the generals Rakkha (75. 20, 69, 74 &c), as well as by the Gaṇakāmacca Ādicca (76. 39, 63, 64).

Amongst the officials in personal contact with the king are the umbrella-bearer (*chattagāhaka*) and the sword-bearer (*asiggāhaka*). The umbrella is the symbol of the royal dignity. Saṃghā, the daughter of Mahānāma is married to the king's umbrella-bearer — a proof of the high rank held by this official — and obtains for him the crown by murdering her brother of inferior rank (38. 1-3). Under Vijayabāhu I. three brothers revolt against the king, one of whom is the "chief of the umbrella-bearers" (*chattagāhakanātha*), the second *dharmagehakanāyaka*, the third *seṭṭhinātha* (59.16). These two last names of offices do not occur elsewhere in the Cūlavamsa. The first of the two (lit. "chief of the House of the Law") is probably the highest judicial official, the second the "President of the Guild of Merchants".

The title *asiggāha* was like that of the umbrella-bearer without doubt one of high rank. Moggallāna I. gives his sister in marriage to his sword-bearer Silākāla and entrusts him with the guardianship of the Hair Relic (*kesadhātu* 39. 54, 55). Perhaps we have here the beginnings of the Order of the Kesadhātu. Aggabodhi II. appoints a relative of his mahesī as *asiggāha* (42. 42). Moggallāna III. appoints as sword-bearer the son of the senāpati of his predecessor Saṃghatissa to whom he feels under obligations for helping him to obtain the sovereignty (44. 43), Later on this same sword-bearer himself gains the crown and reigns under the name of Silāmeghavanṇa (44. 64-65), just as Saṃghatissa had been *asiggāha* before his ascent of the throne (44. 1).

Of great importance was the office of the Government Scribe (*mahalekha*). We may assume in Ceylon the same or similar conditions as the Kauṭaliya describes¹ them for the

¹ Arthasāstra 2. 10 (28th subject); J. J. MEYER, p. 100 ff., in SHAMASASTRY'S translation p. 80 ff.

India of the period of which it writes. The Government Scribe is called here likewise *lekha*. His task is the drafting of the royal edicts (*śāsana*) to whose content and form the greatest importance is attached. The rules laid down by the Kauṭaliya are extraordinarily minute. The mahālekha of Kassapa IV. was called Sena and I have pointed out (note to 52. 33) that this official is also mentioned in inscriptions. The Government Scribe of the younger Mānābharaṇa was Mahinda (72. 1, 4, 166). He had it seems at the same time military rank. The same holds good of Rakkha the mahālekha of Parakkamabāhu I. (72. 161, 170, 182).

Several official titles are formed with the word *potthakin*, namely: *bhaṇḍāra*-, *ādi*-, *mūla*- and *jīvita*-*potthakin*. We shall see that it is probably a case here of various synonymous designations for one and the same office. According to its origin *potthakin* has reference to an official who in some sphere or other has to do with book-keeping, the making of lists and inventories. Now *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* is of itself intelligible. It probably corresponds¹ to *koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa* "overseer of the provision house" in the Kauṭaliya. The title is borne (72. 182) by an officer of Parakkamabāhu I., Kittī² by name. But the same Kittī is also described (72. 27, 207) as *ādi**potthakin*. This therefore is probably a synonym of *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* and means simply "first or highest *potthakin*". But the same meaning is also attached to *mūlapotthakin* which is the title of Māna (75. 139, 140) another officer of Parakkama. I may point to *mūlatṭhāna* (57. 38) "the first, the highest and most influential position", the foremost office in the state. My impression is that *jīvitapotthakin* has the same meaning. This title is also applied to Kittī (74. 90) as well as to another official of Parakkamabāhu's Mandin by name (70. 318; 72. 161). It should be remembered that the Skr. *jīvita* means "livelihood, food". By *bhaṇḍāra* was meant the necessary food-stuffs which were under the supervision and control of the *potthakin*.

¹ Arthaśāstra 2. 15 (33rd subject). In J. J. MEYER p. 138 ff. In SHAMASAstry, p. 112 ff.

² Besides Kittī also Bhūta in 72. 196, another officer of Parakkama

Only once is mention made of a *gaṇakāmacca* (76. 39). This as the etymology shows, was apparently an official whose business was finance or accounts. In the Mahābhārata the *gaṇaka* (BR. s. v.) is placed side by side with the *lekha*. It is difficult to say what *sabhāpati*¹ (67. 64, 70) or *sabhānāyaka* (thus 67. 61, 80) stands for. The context shows almost certainly that it denoted an officer of very high rank.

In conclusion I mention some terms which are manifestly nothing but honorary titles, bestowed by the king for public services such as those in war. In the first rank of these is the title *kesadhātu*. I have noticed it in the note to 57. 65. It is a distinction corresponding to our orders. It may have originated in the members of the Order being entrusted with the care of the Hair Relic. See above p. xxvi. Later on this became a mere formality. It is doubtful whether *kesadhātu* in the meaning of "member of the K. Order" is an abbreviation for *kesadhātunāyaka* or whether this last term denotes a higher rank within the Order.

Several of the titles are joined with the word *giri* (Skr. *giri*) or *galla* (Sinh. *gala*). It is not impossible that in such titles names of localities are meant as in the family names of our nobility. Very frequent is the title *nagaragiri* or *nagara-galla* (see note to 66. 35). Again we have *māragiri* (note to 72. 11), *laṅkāgiri* (note to 72. 27), *nīlagiri* (note to 70. 137), *lokagalla* (note to 72. 222) and the uncertain *jitagiri*. All these are verifiable as place names: Nagaragalla (48. 36), Māragalla (55. 26) or Mārapabbata (48. 129), Laṅkāgiri (70. 88) or -pabbata (66. 80), Nīlagiri (70. 20; 72. 12) or -galla (70. 14, 16, 83) and Lokagalla (74. 79, 81, 83, 166).

In addition *laṅkāpura* seems to have been a title (see note to 70. 218) and such are most certainly the terms *laṅkānātha*, *laṅkādhinātha*, *laṅkādhināyaka* (see note to 70. 24), as also *laṅkādhikārin* (see note to 70. 278). The last, it is worth noting, denotes a higher degree in rank.

¹ P. *sabhā* means "hall, assembly room". In Sanskrit the word is also used for a "law court". *Sabhāpati* might therefore denote a high legal official.

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Chap. 70

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Chap. 72

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TO THE EXALTED ONE, THE PERFECT ONE THE FULLY ENLIGHTENED ONE REVERENCE!

CHAPTER XXXVII

(Continuation)

THE SIX KINGS

So after the Ruler Mahāsena¹ had in consequence of his 51
association with impious people, done good and evil all his
life, he went according to his doing². Therefore should the 52
wise man shunning from afar as a poisonous serpent, the
company of the impious, do speedily that which tends to his
own salvation. Thereupon his son Sirimeghavaṇṇa³ be 53

¹ There is not the slightest doubt that with v. 51 the work of the continuator of the old Mahāvamsa begins. We must assume that originally an ornate strophe followed 37. 50 as conclusion of Mahānāma's work. The continuator like his successors (cf. 79. 84; 90. 102), veiled the gap. The content of the lost strophe is apparent from v. 51—52, as also from the last verse of the Dīpavamsa (22. 76), which Dhammakitti seems to have taken as his starting-point.

² P. *gato yathākammaṃ* "he went according to his kamma" a frequent expression (cf. JāCo. I 109¹¹, 153¹³, 178⁶; II. 313¹¹ etc.) with reference to the five *gati* or forms of rebirth . . . 1. in Hell, 2. as animal, 3. as *peta* "ghost", 4. as man, 5. as *deva* „god". Here one must bear in mind that *kamma* "doing" is for Buddhist readers or hearers a technical term, the conception for the sum of all our good and evil deeds in the latest as in the former existences. Our rebirth, our whole fate is determined by *kamma* which is distinctly held to be something concrete.

³ King Siri Mekavāna Aba is mentioned in the inscription of Debel-gala (20 miles E. N. E. of Anurādhapura) which is dated in the first year of his reign. ED. MÜLLER (AIC., p. 80) attributes the inscrip-

came king, bestowing like Mandhātara¹ all kinds of blessings
 54 on the world. In the Mahāvihāra which Mahāsena fallen under
 the influence of evil people, had destroyed, he gathered
 55 together the whole of the bhikkhus, went thither himself,
 greeted them respectfully, seated himself and asked them full
 of reverence: "What then has been destroyed by my father
 56 in company with Samghamitta?" The bhikkhus answered the
 Lord of men: "Although thy father strove to bring about the
 57 removal of the boundary², he was unable to do so, as there
 were still bhikkhus within the boundary. Seven bhikkhus
 58 namely, were hidden here in an underground room. The minister
 Soṇa and the still worse Samghamitta³ influenced the

tion to the king Gothābhaya (Mhvs. 36. 98). There are however, not far from Debel-gala at Timbiriveva two further inscriptions in which our Sirimeghavanna is undoubtedly mentioned. BEILL, ASC. VIIth Rep. 1891 = SP. XIII. 1896, p. 50. Sirimeghavanna is further mentioned in a Chinese source, in the Hing-Tchoan of Wang Hiuen-tse under the name of Chi-mi-kia-po-me ("cloud of merit"). He is said to have sent two Bhikkhus to India to the King San-maon-to-lo-kiu-to, that is Samudragupta (who reigned according to V. A. SMITH approximately between 345 and 380 A. D.), asking him to provide shelter there for the Sinhalese monks who were on a pilgrimage to the sacred tree at Bōgayā. Cf. SYLVAIN LÉVI, JAs. 1900, p. 316 sqq.; J. M. SENAYERATNE, JRAS. C. B. XXIV, Nr. 68, 1, p. 75; H. W. CODRINGTON, Short History of Ceylon, p. 29.

¹ A legendary king of the dynasty of Mahāsammata, son of Upasatha. His story is told in the Mandhātu-Jātaka (Nr. 258 = JāCo. II. 310 ff.), which is again quoted in DhCo. III. 240⁵. The name Mandhātara occurs already in the Rīgveda. In the Anguttara-Nikāya (A. II. 17) Mandhātara is described as *aggo kāmabhogīnaṃ*.

² P. *simāy' ugghāṭanaṃ*. What is meant here is the boundary of the enclosure of the Mahāvihāra. The verb *ugghāṭeti* means "to put on one side, to set aside", as for instance, *ghaṭikāṃ*, the door bolt, Vin. II. 207¹⁰, III. 119²⁴; then "to open, to undo", for instance, *kavāṭakaṃ* Mhvs. 35. 25; *sīhapañjaraṃ* JāCo. I. 124¹⁷, II. 31¹⁵; *thūpaṃ* Thvs. 39¹⁸; lastly "to make known, to reveal", eg. *atītabhave* DhCo. IV. 51². The removal of the boundaries would only have been legal, if the bhikkhus themselves had given up the vihāra

³ The Thera Samghamitta belonged to the Vetulla sect and worked together with his lay disciple Soṇa for the advantage of the Abhayagiri-vihāra against the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra. See Mhvs. 36. 110 ff., 37. 1 ff.

king and determined him to do evil. They destroyed the splen- 59
 did seven-storeyed Lohapāsāda¹ as well as various other build-
 ings and carried off (the material) to the Abhayagiri (-vihāra)².
 In the court of the Cetiya³ where four Buddhas had sojourned, 60
 the deluded ones had mungo beans planted; behold (in its
 consequences) the intercourse with fools." When the King 61
 heard of these doings of his father, he being averse himself
 from all association with fools, had everything which his father
 had destroyed, restored in its original form. To begin with, 62
 he set up the Lohapāsāda, making visible as it were, the
 magnificent palace of Mahāpanāda⁴ on (the island of) Sihala.

¹ The *Lohapāsāda* was laid out by King Devānampiyatissa as dwelling for the inmates of the Mahāvihāra (Mhvs. 27. 4 ff.). There are 1600 monolithic stone columns still standing which formed the framework of the lowest storey. As the inmost pillars are the strongest, and had thus evidently the heaviest weight to bear, we may suppose the building to have been a stepped pyramid. The upper storeys were apparently of wood and were covered with plates of copper. Hence the name "Brazen Palace". The word *pāsāda* is applied to all larger buildings of several storeys. The meaning "palace" though not always appropriate, is of course so whenever, as below v. 62, the *pāsāda* of a prince is meant. That the Lohapāsāda was in the main built of perishable material is proved by the fact that under Saddhātissa (77—59 B.C.) it was destroyed by fire and had to be rebuilt.

² *Abhayagiri* is without doubt the northern of the three large thūpas in Anurādhapura, Jetavana the eastern, not conversely. The question was admirably treated recently by A. M. Hocart (Mem. ASC. I. 10 ff.). A reference might still be made to Mhvs. 37. 33 where it reads: *Mahāvihārasīmante uyyāne Jotīnāmake Jetavanavihāraṃ so vāriyānto pi kārayi*. This of course is applicable only to the eastern not to the northern thūpa.

³ Regarding the untranslated *termini* (here *cetiya*) see Mhvs. trsl., Appendix D, p. 292 ff. *Cetiya* and *thūpa* are used synonymously for the bell-shaped structures designed to hold relics. The fundamental form was without doubt the burial mound.

⁴ A legendary king of the Mahāsammata dynasty (Mhvs. 2. 4). An account of his splendid palace (*yūpa*) is given in the verses Thag. 163-4 = Jā II 334 (Mahāpanāda-jātaka). It was sunk in the Ganges at Pa-yāga. A legend relates of the Thera Bhaddaji that to prove his miraculous strength, he raised the palace with his toes out of the bed of the stream and showed it to the astonished people. (Jā. II. 333; Mhvs. 31. 7 ff.)

63 He built up all the demolished pariveṇas¹ and fixed the re-
 64 venues of the helpers of the monastery² as heretofore. The
 wise (Sīrimeghavaṇṇa) refilled the vihāra which had become
 sparsely inhabited through his unwise father having stinted it
 65 of necessities. In the vihāra begun by his father in Jotivana³
 66 the monarch had all unfinished work completed. Now when
 the Ruler of men had heard from the beginning the whole
 history of the Thera Mahinda, the (spiritual) son of the Ruler
 67 of the Samaṇas (Buddha), he felt a believing joy in his merit
 in having brought the island to the faith and thought: "Of
 68 a truth the Thera is lord over the island". He then had an
 image of gold made corresponding with the size of Mahinda
 69 and brought it to the Ambatthala-cetiya⁴, so called after the
 mango tree of the Thera⁵. There he left it on the eighth
 70 day. But on the ninth day he took a great host like to an
 army of the gods, as also the women of the harem and the
 71 inhabitants of the town, save the watchmen, gathered together
 also all the bhikkhus in Laṅkāḍīpa, and freed the people who

¹ *Pariveṇa* (Sinh. *piriveṇa*) denotes now a building intended for the instruction of the bhikkhus. That *pariveṇa* originally, or at any rate in early times, must have denoted more than the single cell inhabited by a bhikkhu is clear from 37. 172.

² *P. ārāmikānaṃ*. The *ārāmikā* had to do work for the monastery and to keep it in order. See Vin. I. 206 ff. — Cf. Vin. II. 211²³ ff. the grades *bhikkhu*—*sāmaṇera*—*ārāmikā*.

³ What is meant here is the Jetavana-vihāra which was built according to Mhvs. 37. 33, by Mahāsena in the Jotivana which lies outside the southern gate of the town of Anurādhapura (Mhvs. 15. 202. See the note on 37. 59.) A special Jotivana-vihāra did not exist. Cf. also below 52. 59 with note.

⁴ *Cetiyaambathale* (so also v. 69, 74). Probably a mere inversion for *Ambatthalacetiya metri causa*. The Ambatthalacetiya stands on a terrace of the Missaka hill, now Mihintale (8 miles east of Anurādhapura) below the highest summit, on the spot where according to the legend, the emissary Mahinda converted King Devānampiyatissa to the doctrine of the Buddha.

⁵ By the riddle of the mango tree (Mhvs. 14, 17 ff.) the Thera Mahinda put the King's discernment to the proof. Even now there are mango trees planted near the Ambatthalacetiya in memory of the event.

were in prison in the town. Then he instituted a great alms- 72
 giving for all living beings, and celebrating with all offerings
 a matchless sacrifice, he went forth to greet the master of 73
 the island, the best son of the Master (Buddha), as the King
 of the gods (Sakka) had aforetime (greeted) the Master¹. He 74
 had the street from the Ambatthala-cetiya to the town put in
 order even as the road from Vesālī to the town Sāvattihī, and 75
 by the spending of a whole fortune on this occasion, as the
 King (Asoka), the father of the Thera (had done) on the arri-
 val of the Thera Moggaliputta², he satisfied the poor, travellers 76
 and beggars by instituting a great almsgiving and the bhik-
 khus by (the gift of) the four necessities³. Then the Illustrious 77
 One with the wish: the people shall see the arrival of the
 Thera, lifted up the image amid great reverence, descended 78
 from the mountain (Missaka), (and) while he placed himself
 at the head (of the procession), made the bhikkhus surround
 it on all sides — the golden image of the Thera shone as 79
 the golden Mount Meru⁴ rising out of the milky sea (shines)
 when irradiated by the evening glow — and showed it to 80
 the people with the thought: Even thus the Leader of the
 World went forth to Vesālī to preach the Sutta⁵. Thus paying 81

¹ On the occasion of Buddha's visit to the Tāvātimsa-hea en. Cf. Divyāvadāna, ed. E. B. COWELL and R. A. NEIL, 401; ROCKHILL, Life of the Buddha, p. 80 f.; BIGANDET, Life or Legend of Gaudama the Buddha, I, p. 225 ff.; TH. KERN, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 33.

² The fetching of the Mahinda image by Sirimeghavanna is compared with that of Moggaliputtatissa by King Asoka, as it is described in Mhvs. 5. 245 ff. The Thera dwells in a hermitage on the upper Ganges. He is wanted to settle the disputes which have arisen in the Buddha Order. Only after many vain attempts does Asoka's emissary succeed in persuading him to take the journey to Pāṭaliputta where the King receives him with the highest honours. There follows the holding of the Third Council.

³ P. *paccayehi catūhi*, namely: clothing (*cīvara*), food (*piṇḍapāta*), dwelling (*senāsana*) and medicine (*bhesajja*).

⁴ Meru or Sumeru is the mythical world mountain which rises in the centre of the earth, on whose summit lies the heaven of the Tāvātimsā, of the 33 Gods. S. KIRFEL, Kosmographie der Inder, p. 16, 187 etc.

⁵ Verses 66—80 form one sentence. The subj. is *manujindo* in 66

reverence and homage (to the image) the Lord of men set out in the evening for the vihāra Sotthiyākara¹ which he had himself erected near the eastern gate, and there also he let the image of the (spiritual) son of the Conqueror (Buddha) tarry three days. Then after he had on the 12th day put the town well in order, even as the town of Rājagaha at the first entry of the Master², he fetched the image from the Sotthiyākara-vihāra and brought it, while the town had the semblance of the ocean by reason of the great festival, to the Mahāvihāra,

taken up again by *rājā* in 67, so in 70 and *ayam* in 72, verb. fin. *dassesi* in 80, obj. *paṭibumbaṃ* in 68 (taken up again by *taṃ* in 77). The construction of the sentence is disturbed by the verb. fin. *sobhatha* in 79. I believe either that the whole of verse 79 was inserted later or perhaps better still that it is to be regarded as a parenthesis. The Sutta preached by the Buddha in Vesālī is the Ratanasutta (No. 6 of the Khuddakapāṭha = v. 222 ff. or Cūlavagga 1 in the Suttanipāṭa). Its previous history is related by Buddhaghosa (Kh. A. p. 158 ff.), appears also in the Mahāvastu (I. 253 ff.) In Vesālī, the capital of the Licchavi clan (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Buddhist India, p. 25 f.) bad plagues caused by evil spirits are rife. The terrified inhabitants appeal to the Buddha who is sojourning in Rājagaha. He comes, drives off the evil spirits and pronounces over Vesālī the verses of blessing (*Scastyayanagāthā* in the Mahāvastu) of the Ratanasutta. It is now expressly insisted on that the street from Rājagaha to the Ganges and again on the territory of the Licchavi from Vesālī to the Ganges was put in the most perfect order and decorated. I should therefore refer v. 74 also to the journey of the Buddha to Vesālī, though in that case Sāvattthī would be erroneously substituted for Rājagaha. That there was a tendency to make Sāvattthī a dwelling place of the Buddha is shown by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS's acute observations on the Samyutta-Nikāya. (The Book of the Kindred Sayings trsl. by F. C. WOODWARD, III, p. XI f.)

¹ From the description of the position the name would best fit that collection of buildings east of Anurādhapura now called Puliyankulam. The foundation of this vihāra would then have to be placed in the 4th century A. D., as Sirimeghavaṇṇa built it himself (*sayamkatam*). The fact of the present ruins belonging in style to a later period is no argument against the identification, as all these monasteries were repeatedly enlarged and renewed.

² On the Buddha's first visit to Rājagaha on which occasion King Bimbisāra presented him with the Veluvana park see Vin. I. 35 ff.; JāCo. I. 82²⁸ ff.; ROCKHILL, Life of the Buddha, p. 48.

left it three months in the court of the Bodhi tree, brought it :
 then in the same (solemn) manner to the inner town and had 86
 a handsome shelter built for the image near the royal palace
 at its south-eastern corner. The wise, discerning (King) had 87
 images of Itthiya and of the others¹ made and put them in
 the same spot. He set a watch there and spent a sum of money 88
 as an offering and gave orders to proceed year by year in
 like manner. In obedience to his order the kings of his race 89
 keep up the custom here (in Ceylon) to this day and do not
 neglect it. On the day of Pavāraṇā² he brought the image 90
 from the town to the vihāra and ordered that every year an
 offering be made on the 13th day. Beside the Bodhi tree 91
 Tissavasabha in the Abhaya-vihāra³ he had a stone terrace
 and a handsome wall built.

In the ninth year of this (King) a Brahman woman brought 92
 hither (to Anurādhapura⁴) from the Kaliṅga country the Tooth

¹ The theas Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla (Mhvs. 12. 7), the sāmaṇera Sumana and the lay-brother Bhanḍuka (Mhvs. 13. 18, 14. 33) were companions of Mahinda on his flight to Ceylon.

² *Pavāraṇā* is the ceremony observed by the bhikkhus at the close of the three months' *vassa*, that is the rainy season spent in the vihāra. The *vassa* begins according to the directions of the Vinaya (I. 137²⁶; cf. with this Vin.-A. III. 293⁴ the commentary of Buddhaghosa) on the day after the day of full moon of the month Āsāḷha (May-June) or a month later and lasts three months. As the Pavāraṇā festival takes place on the 14th and 15th days of the final month, the 13th day mentioned in v. 90 is the day immediately preceding it for which the King ordains a yearly festival of offering. (See Th. KERN, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 100.)

³ Differently rendered by TURNOUR-WIJESINHA: "and he built stone cornices and beautiful walls also at the Abhaya and Tissa-Vasabha vi-hāras, as well as at the bodhi tree." I think, however, that *silāvedim* can only belong to *bodhipūḍape*. The sacred fig trees (*Ficus religiosa*) are as a rule surrounded by a stone terrace. *Vihāre Abhaye* refers without doubt the Abhayagiri-vihāra in the north of the town. I am inclined to look upon Tissavasabha as the name of the Bodhi tree, named perhaps after the name of the man who planted it and who came from the village of Vasabha. There was a village of this name near Anurādhapura its revenues (see 41. 97) being later made over to the Jetavana by Mahānāga.

⁴ A more detailed account of this event by which the most famous

93 Relic of the great Sage (Buddha). In the manner set forth in
 the Chronicle of the Tooth Relic the Ruler received it with
 94 reverence, paid it the highest honours, laid it in an urn of pure
 95 crystal, and brought it to the building called Dhammacakka
 built by Devānampiyatissa on the royal territory. Henceforth
 96 this building was the Temple of the Tooth Relic¹. The King
 his heart swelling with joy, spent 900 000 (kahāpaṇas) and ar-
 97 ranged therewith a great festival for the Tooth Relic. He de-
 creed that it should be brought every year to the Abhayuttara-
 vihāra², and that the same sacrificial ceremonial should be ob-
 98 served. The Ruler had eighteen vihāras built and (he con-
 structed) tanks which always contained water, because of his
 99 pity for all living creatures. After performing innumerable
 many meritorious works such as offerings for the Bodhi Tree
 and the like, he went in the 28th year (of his reign) thither
 whither his merit took him³.

relic of the Buddha came to Ceylon, is to be found in the Rājāvaliya (see p. 53 of B. GUÑASEKARA's translation); in the Rājaraṭnākaraya (ed. SADDHĀNANDA, Colombo, 1887, p. 29) and in the Pūjāvaliya (Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the Pūjāvaliya, ed. B. GUÑASEKARA, p. 23-4). The country of Kalinga corresponds roughly to the present Orissa on the mainland of India. V. 93 refers to the Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa written in 1211 by Dhammakitti, an older namesake of the author of the first part of the Cūlavāṃsa, or to the copy of it written in the Sinhalese tongue. The Pāli Dāṭhādhātuvaṃsa has been edited by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, JPTS. 1884, p. 108 ff.

¹ One must look for the remains of the building in the so-called Daḷadā-Māligāva in the south-eastern part of the city of Anurādhapura, not in the ruin of the same name at the Thūpārāma. See E. R. AYRTON, Ceylon Notes and Queries III, Apr. 1914, p. XII ff.

² „The Northern Vihāra of Abhaya”, the same as the Abhayagiri-vihāra. We often meet with the name *Uttara Mahā-Ceta* in inscriptions. Thus in that of King Malu-Tissa, WICKREMasinghe, EZ. I, p. 256, cf. also ib. p. 221, 236; as well as A. M. HOCART, Mem. ASC. I, p. 12. In the older Mahāvāṃsa (35. 119) we also find the name *Abhayuttaramāhāthūpa*.

³ Literally: “he went there where was the way to rebirth (*gati*)”. Means the same as *yathākammaṃ gato* (see above note 2 to v. 51), here of course in a good sense. According to Pūjāvaliya and Rājāvaliya the king reigned fully 28 years.

The youthful Jeṭṭhatissa, the youngest son of his brother¹, 100 then raised the umbrella of dominion in Laṅkā, (he being) experienced in the art of ivory carving. Extraordinarily skilful, 101 he carried out many² difficult works and taught the practice of his art to many people. At his father's³ request he made a 102 beautiful, charming figure representing the Bodhisatta, as beautiful as if it had been produced by miraculous power, as well 103 as a chair of state with a back, an umbrella, a maṇḍapa⁴ with jewels: Here and there⁵ (were) all kinds of work by him in splendid ivory. After ruling the island of Laṅkā for nine years⁶ 104 and doing numerous meritorious works, he passed away in accordance with his deeds.

Thereupon his son Buddhadāsa⁷ became king, a mine of 105 virtues, as the sea (is such) of all jewels. Creating happiness 106 by every means for the inhabitants of the island, protecting the town⁸, as the wealthy Vessavaṇa protects the town of Ālakamandā⁹, gifted with wisdom and virtue, a refuge of pure pity 107

¹ According to the reading *bhātu tassa kamṭṭhako* as against *bhātā* t. k. cf. Cūlav. ed., Introd. p. XVII. Nevertheless I have scruples in adopting this reading, since in the historical literature of Ceylon Jeṭṭhatissa is distinctly called the brother, not the nephew of his predecessor.

² P. *citrāṇi*. I do not believe that this word refers to painting. It is always a question of Jeṭṭhatissa's ivory carving only.

³ The „father” may be king Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the paternal uncle being always called *pitar*.

⁴ By *maṇḍapa* is understood a light, open, arbour-like structure whose roof is supported on pillars, often put up for merely temporary purposes.

⁵ The construction of the sentence is not quite clear. I think v. 103 c d is a summary of what has gone before.

⁶ Pūjāvaliya has the same; but according to the Rājāvaliya, 10 years.

⁷ The Sinhalese sources (Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn.) call him Bujas-*raja*. Also Nikāya-saṃgraha ed. WICKREMASINGHE, 16⁸.

⁸ *Rakkhaṇ* is to be supplemented from d by the object *puram*, while on the other hand *puram* must be supplemented by the participle *rakkhaṇ* from c.

⁹ *Vessavaṇa* — Skr. *Vaiśravaṇa*, patronymic of Kuvera the god of wealth. His capital is called in Skr. *Alakā* (E. W. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 142 ff.). In D. II. 147², 170⁷ Ālakamandā is called the capital of the Devas.

108 and endowed with the ten qualities of kings¹, while avoiding the
 four wrong paths², practising justice, he won over his subjects
 109 by the four heart-winning qualities³. The Ruler lived openly
 before the people the life that bodhisattas lead and had pity
 110 for (all) beings as a father (has pity for) his children. He fulfilled the wishes of the poor by gifts of money, those of the
 111 rich by protecting their property and their life. Great in discernment he treated the good with winning friendliness, the wicked with sternness. the sick with remedies.

112 Now one day as the King riding on the back of his elephant was on his way, in the principal street, to bathe in the
 113 Tissa-tank, he beheld a large snake smitten with belly disease, lying not far from the Puttabhāga-vihāra outstretched on its
 114 back on a white ant-heap to display its disease of the belly, called a tumour. He thought: the snake is certainly ill⁴. Thereupon he got down from the great elephant and approaching the
 115 great snake, thus spake the hero, the Spotless One, to the great
 116 snake⁵: "I understand, great Snake, the reason of thy coming.
 117 But ye (snakes) are very fiery⁶ and easily fly into a rage⁷. There-

¹ On the *dasa rājadharmā* see M. and W. GEIGER, *Paṭi Dhamma*, p. 17. They are enumerated J. III. 274¹: *dāna* "giving of alms", *sīla* "leading a moral life", *pariccāga* "liberality", *ajjāva* "fair dealing", *maddara* "gentleness", *tapas* "self-discipline", *akkadha* "without wrath", *avihimsā* "not wounding", *khanti* "patience", *avirodhana* "peaceableness".

² *P. catasso agatā hitvā*. The four *agati* are *chanda* "desire", *dosa* "hate", *moha* "illusion", *bhaya* "fear".

³ The *cattāri saṃgahavattthūni* are *dāna* "the giving of alms, liberality", *peyyavaṇṇa* "friendly, winning speech", *atthacariyā* "beneficent action", *saṃānattatā* "sociability". Cf. 41. 56.

⁴ One must read "*nāgo rogī ti nicchayaṇi*", The *ti* is, as often, placed in the *oratio recta*. Cf. 44, 16; 45, 20; 48, 30.

⁵ The verse contains a play upon words impossible for us to render, *nāga* being used in the threefold meaning of "snake" especially cobra, "elephant" and "great man, hero". Add to this the similarity in sound with *anāgavā* (Skr. *āgas* "guilt, sin").

⁶ *P. mahāteja*. TURNOUR's translation "highly gifted" is wrong.

⁷ Literally: "You are quickly such who bear the character of being wrathful". See *Cūlav. ed.*, vol. II, Index 2, s. v. *kuppana*.

fore it is impossible for me to touch thee and so to accomplish my work; but without touching thee it is also not possible. What then is to be done?" At these words the prince of the 118 snakes stuck his whole neck¹ into the cavity (of the white ant-heap) and remained lying motionless. He stepped up to it, took 119 the knife that he wore at his side and slit open the belly of the snake. After he had taken out the diseased parts and applied 120 an excellent remedy, he at once cured the reptile. Then he 121 gloried thus: "Even the beasts have known my great charity; in the right way have I ruled." When the snake saw that it 122 was cured, it gave the Monarch as a mark of esteem, its own precious jewel². The King placed the jewel as eye in the stone 123 image of the Perfectly Enlightened One in the Abhayuttara-vihāra.

A bhikkhu on his mendicant round in the village of Thusa- 124 vaṭṭhika had been given only dry mendicant's food. When then he went begging for milk he got milk with worms in it which 125 he drank. In his belly the worms multiplied and fed on his bowels. Then he went and told the King. The King asked: 126 "At what meal did this pain arise and of what kind is it?" The other answered: "At the meal that I took with milk in 127 the village of Thusavaṭṭhi". The King recognised that it had been milk with worms in it. Now just at that time a horse 128 had to be cured by bleeding. The King himself bled it, took the blood, gave it tho the samaṇa to drink and spake, waiting 129 a moment³: "That was horse's blood." When the samaṇa⁴ heard that he vomited. The worms came up with the blood, 130 the bhikkhu was cured, but the King showed his joy: "By a 131

¹ P. *phaṇa*, the hood of the cobra which it inflates when irritated. Pun with *phaṇḍa* "prince of the hooded snakes".

² In allusion to the widespread popular belief that snakes or particular snakes have a jewel in their head Cf. for instance, Chakesadhātu-vaṃsa, JPTS. 1885, p. 14¹⁶.

³ I now prefer to read *vītināmayaṃ* with the MSS. S 3 or., 6, or *vītināmiya* with the Colombo edition.

⁴ On the term *samaṇa* cf. R. O. FRANKE, D. trsl. p. 304 ff. In the Mahāvamsa the word is used in the same sense as *bhikkhu*.

single stroke of the knife worms, samaṇa and horse have been cured: excellent of a truth are my activities as healer."

132 A man in drinking water swallowed the egg of a water
133 snake¹; out of it there came a water snake. It sucked itself
fast² in his inside. Tortured by the pain caused by this he
134 sought the King. The latter asked him as to the cause³. He
recognised that a reptile was within him, made him fast a
week and had him, after being bathed and rubbed with oil,
135 laid on a well prepared bed. Now as he lay there in deep
136 slumber with open mouth, he placed before his mouth a piece
of meat with a string attached. (Lured) by the smell the rep-
tile came out of him, bit fast at it and wanted to crawl in
137 (again). Thereupon the King held it fast by means of the
string, drew it out, threw it in a jug into water and spake
138 these words: "As is well known the physician of the Perfectly
Enlightened One was Jīvaka⁴. Can the world show a work of
139 his harder (than this)? Certainly he also would accomplish a
work like this — of that there can be no doubt — if he
did it⁵ with the utmost care. Behold the consequences of my
good deeds!⁶" -

¹ *deḍḍubha*. Cf. *udakadeḍḍubha* J. I. 361⁶, III. 16¹⁹. In J. VI. 194¹⁶ the Comm. explains the word *d.* by *udakasappa*. In Sinh. also *deḍḍuba* means a water snake. The closely allied skr. word *duṇḍubha* is a kind of lizard without feet living in the water (BÖHTLINGER-ROTH, s. v.).

² P. *anto tudattha tuṇḍam*, lit. "it stuck (or bored) its mouth in".

³ P. *nidāna* is like skr. *nīdāna* a medical term: "the theory of the causes of diseases and of their nature: Aetiology, Pathology" PTSPD. s. v. Cf. Milp. 272¹³: *roguppattiṃ ca nidānaṃ* ca.

⁴ For this famous physician, Jīvaka Komārābhacca, see namely Vin. I. 268 ff.

⁵ TURNOUR has misunderstood the passage. W. has got nearer to the sense, but he has misinterpreted *sabbādareṇa kubbanto* ("in all loving-kindness"). The meaning is this: Buddhadāsa has no intention of placing himself above Jīvaka, but his achievements are equal to the highest of those of Jīvaka. The latter also had to use all his skill to achieve such cures as Buddhadāsa can boast of having accomplished.

⁶ P. *puññodaya*, lit. "ascent of acquired merit", a technical expression denoting the moment, in which the effects of former good deeds make themselves felt. See 53. 23.

In the same way in Helloligāma he saved a Caṇḍāla woman the fruit of whose womb had taken a wrong position¹, seven times with the child. A bhikkhu was disturbed² in his exercises by the writhing disease³; as he had become (bent) like a roof-tree⁴ the wise (King) freed him from his ailment. A young man was drinking a little water in which were frog's eggs. An egg penetrating by the nostril entered his skull. It opened and was a frog; it grew and dwelt⁵ there. At the approach of the rainy season the young man was greatly tortured by it. The King split the skull, took out the frog, put the parts of the skull together again and cured the young man at once⁶. For the good of the inhabitants of the Island the ruler had refuges for the sick set up in every village and placed physicians in them. He made a summary of the essential content of all the medical text-books and charged one physician with (the care of) twice five villages⁷ and gave the physicians the produce of ten fields as livelihood. He also appointed physicians for elephants, horses and soldiers. For cripples⁸ and

¹ One must join *mūḥagabbhinuṃ jātāṃ*. On *mūḍhagarbha* cf. JOLLY, Medizin (der Inder), p. 64 f. *Satta vāresu* belongs to *mūḥagabbhinuṃ* as well as to *sukhitaṃ akā* "cured, saved".

² P. *vuṭṭhāpto*. The verb (*v*)*uṭṭhā* is the term for awaking from the state of absorption in meditation (*samādhi*). Thus Vin. I. 2²⁹, 3¹² etc. D. II. 156⁵ ff.; M. I. 302⁸⁻¹⁰ etc. Also the substantive (*v*)*uṭṭhāna* M. I. 296⁴ etc. Manifestly our passage means that the pain awakened the bhikkhu out of his sleep of meditation.

³ P. *vātābādhena*. See JOLLY loc. cit. p. 118 f. The disease consists in contraction of the joints, cramp, paralysis etc.

⁴ P. *gopānasī* a roof beam in gable form \wedge . The expression *gopānasivāṅka* "bent like a g." is used of people bent by age.

⁵ P. *tattha gacchati* in the more general meaning "was there" (cf. skr. *tatragata*), the present expressing the permanent condition.

⁶ Lit. made him (as he had been) originally.

⁷ I do not take *sāratthasaṃgahaṃ* as does TURNOUR, for the title of a medical work. In this case the construction of the preceding genitive *sabbesaṃ vejjasatthānaṃ* would be quite unintelligible. Cf. also the note to v. 171.

⁸ P. *pīṭhasappīnaṃ*, who moved about with the help of a chair-like frame. PTSPD. s. v.

for the blind he built refuges in various places and refuges
 149 with maintenance in the principal street¹. He hearkened con-
 stantly to the good doctrine, showing reverence to the preachers
 of the doctrine². He also fixed the salaries of the preachers
 150 in different places. Of his great pity he had a pocket for his
 knife³ made in the inside of his mantle and wherever he met
 them he freed the afflicted from their pains.

151 Now one day the King royally adorned came forth with his
 152 army like Vāsava⁴ with the Gods. Now when a leper who in
 a former existence had been his enemy, beheld the Ruler at
 the very summit of his glory and good fortune⁵ shining in royal
 153 splendour, he was filled with fury; he struck the earth with
 his hand and smiting the ground again and again with his staff,
 154 he reviled him with many abusive words. As the discerning
 (King) witnessed this curious behaviour⁶ from afar, he thought:
 155 "I cannot remember having done evil to any being; he is cer-
 tainly my enemy from former times. I will appease this (his

¹ Evidently for travellers: *bhoga* means here "feeding". In TURNOUR'S translation the double *sālāyo* is disregarded.

² P. *dharmabhāṇaka* (below in v. 173 the synonym *dharmaghosaka*). The word *dhamma* means here the teaching of Buddha as formulated in the sacred texts. Recitations from such texts (*Suttas*) by the bhikkhus are even now frequent in Ceylon. They often last the whole night through and pious laymen listen with intense devotion, although they understand not a single word of the recital (Sinh. *baṇa*). P. TUXEN is undoubtedly right in regarding this as "in the first place a kind of spiritual adjustment", thus "a sort of Yoga", facilitated by the musical effect of the recital, by the rhythm which is peculiar to the Pāli texts. The feeling for rhythm is as I have frequently noticed, extraordinarily developed amongst the Sinhalese. P. TUXEN, *Einige Bemerkungen über die Konstruktion der Pālitexte*, Festschrift Hermann Jacobi, p. 98 ff.

³ P. *satthavattiṃ*. The word *sattha* is used here for the surgical knife. So already above v. 119. For the expression "cover" "receptacle" for *vatti* cf. *maricavatti* = pepper pod.

⁴ A name for the King of the Gods, Sakka or Indra.

⁵ Here we must either regard the *m* in *sirisobhagga-m-aggappattam* as neutralising the hiatus, or we must separate *sirisobhaggaṃ aggappattam* so that the first word is dependent as acc. on the second.

⁶ P. *vippakāraṃ*, lit. change, demeanour deviating from the normal.

enmity)," and he said to a man who stood near: "Go and find 156
out the feelings of the leper yonder." He went. Like a good 157
friend he seated himself by the leper and asked him why he
was so angry. The leper told him everything: "This Buddhadāsa 158
here was (once upon a time) my slave; for his meritorious deeds
he has become monarch. To slight me he rides past me there
on his elephant. He shall learn to know me in a few days!" 159
If he puts himself in my power (again), I shall make him par-
take of the full chastisement of slaves. If he does not fall into 160
my hands, I shall slay him and drink his throat's blood. Of
that there is no doubt. Thou shalt see it shortly." The man 161
went and related the matter to the prince. The discerning
(King) (now) felt certain that that (leper) was his enemy of
old. He thought: "It is meet to put an end by (some) means 162
(or other) to the enmity of a foe", and (thus) directed the man:
"win him in the right way." He went to the leper and spoke 163
to him like a good friend: "For a long time I have harboured
the thought of destroying the King; but as I found no accom- 164
plishes for his murder, I could not (carry it out). But now that
I have found thee, I can fulfil my wish. Come to my house, 165
dwell with me and be my helper, in a few days I shall destroy
his life." After these words he took the leper to his house 166
and having had him bathed and oiled, clad with a choice gar-
ment, well fed with dainty food and served by youthful women, 167
he had him laid on a splendid, well-prepared bed. In the same 168
fashion he sheltered him for several days and when he saw
that he had grown trustful and that he was happy and con-
tented, he gave him food and drink with the words: "This is 169
a gift from the King." Twice and thrice he refused it, then
begged (by the other) he took it. Gradually he learned to put 170
full trust in the Monarch and when he heard (later) that the
Monarch was dead his heart broke in twain.

¹ Lit. "I will make him know myself". Erroneous by W. "I will make him know himself". The acc. *attānam* can only be related reflectively to the subject contained in *jānāpessāmi*. The gerund *kāretvā* in v. 159 belongs to *jānāpessāmi*, the ger. *māretvā* in v. 160 to *piṇissāmi*. The sense is if he voluntarily becomes again my slave (*hatthum me eti—āyāti*) I shall chastise him as such, if he does it not, I will slay him.

- 171 Thus the King healed physical and spiritual disease and he
 installed physicians in the island to provide for the cure (of
 the sick) in the future¹.
- 172 In the Mahāvihāra the King had the Morapariveṇa² built
 which was beautified by a pāsāda five and twenty cubits³ high.
 173 He made over to it the two villages of Samaṇa(gāma) and
 Goḷapānu(gāma) and to the bhikkhus who held forth on the
 174 doctrine (he assigned) revenues and servants⁴. He built vihāras
 and pariveṇas which were fitted up with the four necessities,
 175 and (he built) tanks and alms-halls, and (erected) images. In
 the reign of the same king the ascetic Mahādhammakathin⁵
 176 translated the Suttas into the Sīhala tongue. The King pos-
 sessed eighty heroic, vigorously grown sons of winning mien
 who bore the names of the eighty disciples (of the Buddha⁶).

¹ The Col. ed. takes out the second half of this verse "and he installed" etc. which all MSS. known to me have in this place, and adds it above to v. 146 (= v. 96 of the ed.) after "summary of the essential content of the medical books". On grounds of method I cannot accept this. Besides which the verse is quite appropriate here. The compiler summarizes what the king had done for the furtherance of medical lore not only in his own day but also for the future.

² P. *Morapariveṇa* or *Mayūrapariveṇa* means "Peacock-P." The traditional name Mayūra-Piriveṇa is applied even to-day to a very ruinous building lying not far from the south-west corner of the present Mahāvihāra on the road leading to Kurunegala. H. C. P. BELL ASC., Ann. Rep. 1894 (= SP. XXXIX, 1904), p. 5.

³ P. *hattha*. As the *hattha* according to FLEET, JRAS. 1906, p. 1011 was not smaller than 17. 75 inches (= 45.08 cm.) and certainly not larger than 18. 25 inches (= 46.35 cm.), the height of the pāsāda of the Morapariveṇa must have been roughly 37 to 38 ft. (= 11.28 to 11.58 m.)

⁴ P. *bhoge kappiyakārake*. By *bhogā* is meant the produce taxes of certain lands. The *kappiyakārakā* (lit. who do what is meet) are probably no other than the *ārāmikā* (note to 37, 63).

⁵ Without doubt the same as the one named as his contemporary by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, *Ta-mo-kiu-ti* (BEAL, Buddhist Records of the Western World I, p. XXVI. As Fa-hian stayed in Ceylon about 411-12 we have here a valuable confirmation of Buddhadāsa's time. E. R. ARNOLD, JRAS. 1911, p. 1142.

⁶ The *aśītisāvakā* are mentioned for instance in the Chakesadhātu-vaṃsa, JPTS. 1885 p. 16⁵; the *aśītimahātherā* DhCo. I. 14³, 19¹⁶. Cf. below 85. 102.

Surrounded by these (his) sons who were named Sāriputta and 177
so forth. Buddhadhāsa shone like the Perfectly Enlightened One.
After he had thus wrought blessings for the dwellers in the 178
Island the Lord of men, Buddhadhāsa, went to the world of the
gods¹ in the twenty-ninth year² (of his reign).

Hereupon his eldest son Upatissa became king: endowed 179
with all royal virtues, ever leading a moral life, great in pity.
Shunning the ten sinful actions, he practised the ten merito- 180
rious works; the King fulfilled the ten royal duties and the
ten pāramitās³. By the four heart-winning qualities⁴ he won 181
over the four regions of the world. In the Mahāpālī Hall⁵ he
had the remains of the royal table⁶ distributed. For cripples, 182

¹ P *trūṇa* = *sagga* (Skr. *trūṇa* = *śarga*) designation of the Tāvātimsa-heaven, the heaven of the 33 gods at the head of whom stands Sakka (Indra).

² The Pūjāvaliya gives Buddhadhāsa a reign of full 29 years, the Rājāvaliya one of eighty years!

³ The ten "meritorious works" (*puñṇakuiyā*) are *dāna* "giving of alms", *sīla* "leading a moral life", *bhāvanā* "spiritual discipline", *apaciti* "reverence", *veyyāvacca* "diligence", *pattianuppadāna* "transference of one's own merits to another", *abbanumodanā* "gratitude", *desanā* "instruction", *saṇaṇa* "hearkening (to sermons)", *ditṭhujulakamma* "right views" (see PTSPD. s. v. *puñṇa*). — On the *dasa rājadharmā* see above note to v 107. — The ten *pāramitā* ("perfections") which must be attained by each future Buddha (*bodhisatta*) are *dāna*, *sīla*, *nekkhamma* "renunciation", *paññā* "knowledge", *virīya* "manliness", *khanti* "patience", *sacca* "uprightness", *adhitṭhāna* "will power", *mettā* "love", *upekkhā* "serenity".

⁴ See above note to v. 108

⁵ Most probably the building whose remains lie S. E. of the Mahāthūpa (Ruvanveli-Dagoba) close to the present post-office. That this building served for the distribution of alms is proved by the stone canoe 44 ft. long (= 13.4 m.) lying near. This was obviously a receptacle for gifts of rice which were then portioned out. According to 42. 67 this stone canoe was presented by King Aggabodhi II. The erection of the hall is ascribed, Mhvs 20. 23, to Devānampiyatissa, 247-207 B. C. Cf. on the building H. C. P. BELL ASC., Ann. Rep. 1902 (= SP. LXVII, 1907), p. 1-3.

⁶ The reading of the MSS. *rajānubhajanam* is certainly right. Cf. Cūlav. II, Index 2, List of Words, s. v. *anubhājana*.

women in travail, for the blind and the sick he erected great
 183 nursing shelters and alms-halls. In a northerly direction from
 the Maṅgalacetiya he erected a thūpa, an image house¹ and
 184 an image. In carrying this out he with the thought: my sub-
 jects must not be estranged² (from me) had (the work) done
 185 by boys to whom he distributed sugar and rice. He had built
 at various places innumerable and meritorious works, (such
 as) the Rājuppala (tank), the Giṇṇhakūṭa, Pokkharapāsaya, Valā-
 186 hassa and Ambutṭhi (tanks) and the tank of Goṇḍigāma, the
 Khaṇḍarāja-vihāra and (further) tanks always filled with water³.
 187 (Once) when rain poured (into the house) he passed the night
 nevertheless lying on his bed, thinking: it would be a trouble
 188 to the people (if I were to call anyone). When the Minister
 noticed this he took him into the garden and had the house
 (meantime) covered in⁴. Thus never for his own sake did he
 cause trouble to living beings.

189 In the time of this (King) the Island was vexed by the ills
 of a famine and a plague. The benevolent (King) who was as
 190 a light for the darkness of sin, asked the bhikkhus: "Did not
 the great Sage (Buddha) when the world was visited by such
 evils as famine and the like, provide some kind of help for
 191 the world?" They pointed to the origin of the Gaṅgārohaṇa-

¹ The *paṭimāgeha* is an essential part of every monastic establishment. It is known by its having besides the main entrance on the east side, an extra entrance from the north.

² The ingenious correction *khijjantu* "shall (not) be wearied" (instead of *bhijjantu*) of the Colombo edition is tempting. Nevertheless I feel unable to accept it. It will be argued that if the work is wearisome for adults it must be so in a far greater degree for boys. The idea is rather this: the King will not make enemies of his subjects by giving them tasks which keep them from more important work. Boys have free time and consider such work when rewarded by sweetmeats, as play.

³ The construction of vv. 185-6 is difficult, the translation uncertain. It is worth noting that in the Pūjāvaliya and the Rājāvaliya the construction of the Tōpāveva, the lake of Polonnaruva, is ascribed to Upatissa.

⁴ Here too the construction is brief and obscure. But W. has grasped the meaning properly.

Sutta¹ on such an occasion. When he heard this he made an image wholly of gold of the departed Buddha², laid the stone 192 alms bowl of the Master³ (filled) with water in the hollow of its hands and placed this his figure on a great chariot. He 193 took upon himself the duties of a moral life and made the people also take them on themselves, he instituted a great almsgiving and established security (of life) for all living crea- 194 tures. Then after he had adorned the town (so that it was) comely as the world of the gods, he descended surrounded by all the bhikkhus dwelling in the Island, to the principal street⁴. 195 Then the bhikkhus who had gathered there reciting the Ratana-Sutta and pouring out water⁵, walked about the street, not far 196 from the royal palace, near the wall, round which they walked with their right side towards it⁶ in the three watches of the night. When morning dawned a great cloud poured rain on 197 the earth and all who had suffered from disease, held refreshed high festival. But the Lord of men decreed: "When there 198 shall be on the Island an evil such as famine, plague or the like, thus shall it be done."

¹ Must be a name for the Ratana-Sutta mentioned in v. 195 On this see above note to v. 80.

² P. *sambuddhadhātuno*, lit of the relic of the Perfectly Enlightened One. As Buddha himself has entered Nirvana, an image of his outward appearance as he was in life, can only be a "relic" of him. Turnour's translation. "for the tooth relic" is wrong

³ The bowl relic (*pattadhātu*) was next to the sacred tooth the relic most revered on the Island See below 61. 61, 74. 100 ff. It was originally kept in Pāṭaliputta by King Asoka (Mhvs. 17 20) The Sāmaṇera Sumana, one of Mahinda's companions, brought it so Ceylon, and King Devānampiyatissa deposited it in his palace (Mhvs 20. 13)

⁴ What is meant here is the sacred street which starting from the city of Anurādhapura in the N, runs southwards to the Mahāvihāra.

⁵ A fine example of popular rain magic adopted by the official religion. For the filled water vessels and the pouring out of water in Indian rain magic see OLDENBERG, *die Religion des Veda*², p. 505. Further analogies in L. von SCHRODER, *Arische Religion* II, p 253 ff.

⁶ P. *kurumāṇā padakkhiṇaṃ*. The walking round a sacred object or a holy person with the right side towards it or him, thus to the left is a ceremony of reverence. As we were informed in the Subhadrārāma

199 When he having ascended to the Cetiya, perceived ants and
 other (insects) he with the words: walk slowly in the forest,
 200 was wont to sweep the earth with a peacock's feather and to
 use for the cleaning of a seat a shell filled with water¹. In
 201 the south-west corner of the royal palace he had a house built
 for the Uposatha festival², and a house with an image of Bud-
 202 dha as well as a pleasant garden surrounded by a wall. On the
 fourteenth, on the fifteenth, as well as on the eighth day of
 the half of the month and on extraordinary festivals³ he stayed
 203 there accessible to instruction⁴, taking upon himself the eight-
 fold Uposatha vow. His whole life long he ate of the food
 204 (served) in the Mahāpāli Hall⁵. When he took a walk in the

in Balapitaya the person showing reverence must go to the right. A young bhikkhu performed the ceremony in our presence before the thūpa of the monastery. This however must be an innovation. This we learn from the Borobudur in Java. In the case of the reliefs of the first terrace, the pilgrim can only follow the single events in the life of the Buddha in their proper order if ascending the terrace from the east side, he walks round it to the left.

¹ The passage is difficult. A tolerable construction is only possible if we regard *āḍāya carati* as a periphrastic formation. As a rule certainly *car* is joined with the pres. part. But already in Skr. when similarly used, it is found occasionally also joined with the gerund. S. BR s. v.

² Uposatha is the Buddhist sabbath which is kept four times in the lunar month, on the day of the new moon (*cātuddasī*), on that of the full moon (*pañcadasi*), and on the 8th day (*aṭṭhamī*) of each half of the month. On the first two days the confession festival (*pāṭimokkhuḍesa*) of the bhikkhus took place. Special buildings or halls were erected for this ceremony. Mhvs. trsl., p. 296, nr. 29; SPENCE HARDY, Eastern Monachism p. 237 ff., TH KERN, Indian Buddhism p. 99 f.

³ P. *pāṭihāriyapakkha* "an extra holiday, an ancient festival, not now kept" (PTSPD. s. v.) Cf. Sn. 402. The two lines of verse 202 are also found with slight variation S. I 208²⁶, Vv. 15. 6, 19. 9; DhCo IV, p. 21 With the help of these parallel passages we should read *cātuddasim pañcadasim yā ca pakkhassa aṭṭhamī*.

⁴ P. *sāpadānaṃ* is an adverb, = *sa-ap*. The word *upadāna* means "instruction". Thus Th I, 47 where the Co. renders it by *ovāda*. The opposite of *sāpadāna* is *anapadāna* "accessible to no instruction" which in Vin. II. 4²⁰ stands next to *bāla*, *avyatta* and *āpattibahula* What is meant is of course instruction by the sermon.

⁵ He lived thus as simply, as the poor who are dependent on charity.

garden, having set up a feeding-place for the Kalanda birds¹, he had his own food served to them, and this is a custom to this day. (Once) seeing a criminal who was to be executed being led forth, he was deeply moved and had a corpse fetched from the burying ground and thrown into a copper barrel. He then gave the criminal money and let him escape by night, but after sunrise, full of wrath, he had the corpse burnt as if it had been the criminal. He instituted a great festival for all the cetiyas in the Island and (presented) a gold casing for the crowning ornament on the Thūpa in the Thūpārāma². After he had for forty and two years³ performed meritorious works without leaving even a moment unemployed, he entered into the company of the King of the gods.

The queen-consort of this King who had an intrigue⁴ with his younger brother Mahānāma, murdered him by stabbing him in a lonely spot. This younger brother who during his brother's lifetime had undergone⁵ the ceremony of renunciation of the world, returned after the murder of the King, to the

¹ According to the northern tradition the Skr. *kalanta(ka)* denotes a bird. Cf. ROCKHILL, The Life of the Buddha, p. 43, the legend of the Venuvana park (P. *veḷḷuṇaṇa*) and of the Kalantakamvāpa (P. *kalandakamvāpa*). In my opinion we must assume the same meaning for P. *kalanda(ka)*, although Sinh. *kalada* is said to stand for "squirrel". That we have to do with a kind of bird seems clear from Milp 368¹². Here the expression *naṅgutṭham papphotetvā* is used of the *kalandaka*; JāCo. II. 153²² we have *pakkhe papphotetvā*, said also of a bird.

² The Thūpārāma lies near the southern gate of the city of Anurādhapura on the west side of the sacred street (see note to 37. 194). It was built by Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B.C.) See Mhvs. trsl., Note to 17. 50. Cf. now with my translation of 17. 41 A. M. Hocart, Ceylon Journal of Science, Sect. G, I. 2, p. 44, note 4. The relic preserved in the Cetiya of the Thūpārāma was the right collar-bone of the Buddha (see 42. 53). Its history is related Mhvs. 17. 9 ff.

³ Pūjāvaliya and Rājāvaliya give the same length of reign.

⁴ Also W: "His consort who was intimate with his younger brother Mahānāma . . ." Nevertheless the union of *vallabhā* with the instr is surprising, as also the use of the word to denote a criminal relationship.

⁵ The *pabbajjā*, while the actual admission into the Order is carried out by the *upasampadā* which follows later. See Mhvs trsl p. 294, nr. 15 and p 296, nr. 28.

- 211 lower life¹ and became monarch. He took as his Mahesī the
 Mahesī² who had murdered his brother. He built refuges for
 212 the sick and enlarged the Mahāpālī Hall. He erected three
 vihāras, Lohadvāra, Ralaggāma and Koṭipassāvana³ and pre-
 213 sented them to the bhikkhus of the Abhayuttara-vihāra. After
 having built a vihāra on the Dhūmarakkha mountain⁴, he besto-
 wed it at the Mahesī's instigation, on the bhikkhus of the
 214 Theravāda School⁵. He had renovations made in ruined vihāras.
 He was always one who rejoiced in the almsgiving and in the
 leading of a moral life and one who revered the (three
 sacred) objects⁶.
- 215 A young Brāhmaṇa born near Bodhimaṇḍa⁷, who understood
 science, the arts and accomplishments and was perfectly versed
 216 in the three Vedas, who knew the (various) systems of doctrine
 thoroughly, who was skilled in disputation and also fond of con-
 troversy, wandering about Jambudīpa⁸, sought out the various
 217 masters of controversy. Thus he came (once) to a vihāra and

¹ The lay life is regarded as inferior (*hīna*) to the monkish.

² *Mahesī* (skr. *mahisī*) is the title of the first wife of the King. See the Introduction II.

³ A Kotipassāva-vihāra is mentioned 38. 46, but here as founded by Dhātusena. The two other names do not occur otherwise, neither are they, as far as I know, to be found in Sinhalese historical literature.

⁴ The mountain is mentioned, Mhvs. 10. 46 ff. in the history of Pandukābhaya. It lies on the left bank of the Mahaveliganga by the Kacchaka ford (now Mahagantota), E. of Polonnaruwa.

⁵ That is to the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra in which the Theravādins had their seat.

⁶ *P. vatthupūjaka*. These are the *vinī vatthūni*, the *vattuttayam* (Buddha, the Doctrine and the Order). TURNOUR's translation is too general.

⁷ *Bodhimaṇḍa* "Place of Enlightenment", the spot not far from the present Bō-Gayā in Southern Bihār where, according to tradition, the Bodhisatta meditating under a *Ficus religiosa*, by attainment of the highest knowledge became the Buddha. For the history of Buddhaghosa cf. BIMALA CHARAN LAW, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, Calcutta and Simla 1923.

⁸ Name for the continental India.

elucidated during the night the ideas of Patañjali¹ word for word and quite exhaustively². Hereupon the Grand Thera³ (of 218 the vihāra) named Revata realised: "This is a being of the highest wisdom; he must be won over," and he said: "Who 219 then is he who cries there with the cry of an ass?" The (Brāhmaṇa) said to him: "Dost thou then understand (at all) the meaning of the cry of asses?" and on the reply: "I 220 understand it" he expounded his ideas. Revata answered each single thesis and pointed out the (logical) contradictions. On 221 the request: "Explain then thy own system of doctrine," he held forth to him on the text and content of the Abhidhamma. The (Brāhmaṇa) did not understand it. He asked: "Whose 222 sayings⁴ are these?" "These are the sayings of the Buddha," answered the other. To the request (of the Brāhmaṇa): "make them known to me," Revata answered: "Thou shalt receive them when thou hast undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation." As the Brāhmaṇa craved for the sayings he under- 223 went the ceremony of world-renunciation and learnt the Tipiṭaka⁵. He recognised: this path leads alone to the goal⁶, and accepted it thereafter⁷. As his speech was profound like that 224

¹ The author of the *Yogasūtrāṇi* (STRAUSS, *Indische Philosophie*, p. 178 ff.) who must accordingly, if our notice is credible, have lived before middle of the 5th century A. D.

² Lit.: with comprehensive words and well rounded off.

³ P. *thera* (= Skr. *sthavira*) and *mahāthera* are titles of older bhikkhus in leading positions, something like presbyter

⁴ P. *manta*, skr. *mantra* What is meant by this word are the sayings of the Veda. Here the word has a wider meaning, something like "sacred text".

⁵ That is the whole of the canonical books consisting of the three parts Vinaya-, Sutta-, Abhidhammapitaka. See Mhvs. trsl p. 296, nr. 27.

⁶ The sentence *ekāyano ayam maggo* is an allusion to a passage in the Saṃyutta. Here (S. V. 167⁸ ff) the Buddha says: *ekāyano 'yaṃ* (sic!) *maggo satīdānaṃ visuddhiyā . nibbānaṃ sacchikīryāya yad idaṃ cattāro saṃpatthānā*. We see at once from the passage that *ekāyana* is an adjective something like "alone accessible" In the Chāndogya-Upanishad 7. 1. 2 the word is used substantively to denote a branch of science Śaṅkara explains it by *nītiśāstra*.

⁷ That is he now entered the Order with the ceremony of the *upasampadā*, making its duties and principles his own.

of the Buddha he was called Buddhaghosa; for his speech (re-
 225 sounded) through the earth like (that of the) Buddha¹. After
 he had written a book *Ñāṇodaya* yonder (in Jambudīpa), he
 also wrote the *Atthasālinī*², an interpretation of the *Dhamma-*
 226 *saṅgaṇī*. The sage (Buddhaghosa) also began to compose a
 commentary to the *Paṇṇāsa*³. When the Thera Revata saw that,
 227 he spake the following words: "The text alone has been handed
 down here (in Jambudīpa), there is no commentary here. Nei-
 228 ther have we the deviating systems of the teachers⁴. The com-
 mentary in the Sīhala tongue⁵ is faultless. The wise Mahinda
 who tested the tradition⁶ laid before the three Councils⁷ as it
 229 was preached by the Perfectly Enlightened one and taught by
 Sāriputta and the others, wrote it in the Sīhala tongue and it
 230 is spread among the Sīhalas. Go thither, learn it⁸ and render
 it into the tongue of the Māgadhas⁹. It will bring blessing
 231 to the whole world." Thus addressed, the wise (Buddhaghosa)
 sallied forth joyful in the faith and entered the Island just in
 232 the time of this King (Mahānāma). He came to the Mahā-
 vihāra, the abode of all pious (people), went into the great
 233 practising-house¹⁰, learned from Saṃghapāla the commentary

¹ "Speech" in *P. ghosa*. The second time TURNOUR translates it by "fame", scarcely right. In this case the motivation with *h* would not apply. TURNOUR avoids the difficulty by translating "and throughout etc."

² The *Dhammasaṅgaṇī* is one of the books of the Abhidhamma (cf. note to 44. 109). It and its commentary the *Atthasālinī* were published by E. MULLER (PTS. 1885, and 1897). On *laccha* "elucidation" see Cūlav. ed. II, Index 2 s v.

³ For the *Paritta* see GEIGER, Pali, p. 16 f. Cf. note to 46 5.

⁴ *P ācariyavādā*. In the Mhvs. (5. 2) all these later schools are placed in opposition to *theravāda*, the original school represented in the Pāli Canon.

⁵ *P. sīhalatthakathā*. For this see GEIGER, Pali, p. 17.

⁶ *P. kathāmagga*, concrete: the traditional text as handed down to-day, just as in JāCo. I. 27.⁹ the word means "traditional history".

⁷ For the history of the three Councils (*saṃgāhi*) see Mhvs. 3, 4, 5.

⁸ Lit. "hearken to it", all teaching being oral.

⁹ That is from the Old Sinhalese into the Pāli tongue

¹⁰ *P. mahāpadhānaghara*. By *padhāna* is meant the practices in which the zealous bhikkhu engages in order to attain through the

in the Sīhala tongue and the doctrinal system of the Theras perfectly, reached the conclusion: it is just this system which interprets the intentions of the Master of Truth: gathered together there the community¹ and said: "give me all the books that I may compose a commentary". To test him the community gave him two verses with the words: "Show here thy qualification! Once we have seen it, we shall give thee all the books." Briefly summing up the three Piṭakas² together with the commentary he wrote the work called Visuddhimagga³. Then calling together the community who was versed in the thoughts of the Enlightened One, he began to read the work in the vicinity of the great Bodhi Tree. But the devatās⁴ to convince the people of his greatness, caused the book to vanish; but twice and thrice he reproduced it. When the book was brought forth a third time to be read the gods then produced the two other books. Then the bhikkhus read out all the three books together. Neither in composition and content, nor also as regards the sequence (of the subjects⁵), in the teaching of the Theras, in the quotations⁶, in words and sen-

various grades of ecstatic meditation to the dignity of the Arahant, of the "perfected".

¹ The *saṃgha*, that is the totality of the bhikkhus belonging to the vihāra

² See Note to 37. 223.

³ Visuddhimagga (ed. by Mrs. Rhys Davids 2 vols. PTS. 1920- 21) alludes to the verse.

*sīle patitṭhāya nuro sapañño cittaṃ pañṇam ca bhārayam
ātāpī nipako bhikkhu, so imaṃ vijataye jaṭam*

which WARREN (Buddhism in Translations, Harvard Oriental Series vol. III, p. 235) has rendered thus

"What man his conduct guardeth, and hath wisdom,
And thoughts and wisdom traineth well,
The strenuous and the able priest.
He disentangles all this snarl "

⁴ On those spiritual beings common to the popular belief called *devatā* see Zeitschr. für Buddhismus VII, p. 28. In the following verse they are called *Marū* "gods".

⁵ Lit regarding the earlier and the later

⁶ P. *pālhi* refers to passages quoted from the canonical texts, the

242 tences was there any kind of deviation in all three books. Then
 the community satisfied and exceedingly well pleased, cried
 243 again and again: "without doubt this is Metteyya!"¹ and handed
 over to him the books of the three Piṭakas together with the
 commentary. Then dwelling in the Ganthākara-vihāra² which
 244 lies far from all unquiet intercourse, he rendered the whole
 of the Sihala commentaries into the tongue of the Māgadhas,
 245 the original speech of all. For beings of all tongues this
 (rendering) became a blessing and all the teachers of the Thera-
 246 vāda³ accepted it as the original text. Then having accom-
 plished what he had to do, he set out for Jambudīpa to adore
 the sacred Bodhi Tree⁴.

247 When Mahānāma had enjoyed the (dominion of the) earth
 twenty and two years⁵ and done many meritorious works, he
 passed away in accordance with his doing.

248 For all the power they had amassed and for all the glorious
 splendours they had enjoyed all the rulers of the earth were
 at the end unable to escape death. With the thought: thus
 all beings are subject to the law of decay, the wise man should
 forever entirely forsake the desire for wealth and even for life.

Here ends the thirty-seventh chapter, called 'The Six Kings',
 in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
 of the pious.

foregoing *theravādehi*, on the other hand, means quotations from the
 commentaries.

¹ The next expected Buddha. He is now living as a Bodhisatta in
 the Tusita heaven according to Mhvs. 32. 73. Cf. Th. KERN, Manual of
 Indian Buddhism, p. 64, 65, 95.

² Cf. 52. 57 with note.

³ See note to 37. 227.

⁴ The sacred tree of Bō-Gayā (see note to 37. 215), of which ac-
 cording to the legend, the Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhā-
 pura is a cutting.

⁵ So also the Pūjāvaliya; only 20 years according to the Rājāvaliya.
 According to Chinese sources the King Mo-ho-nan (= Mahānāma) sent
 a letter to the court of the Chinese emperor in the year which cor-
 responds to 428 A. D. This however does not agree with the Sinhalese
 chronology as it is generally accepted. See JRAS. C. Br. xxiv, nr. 68, p. 83.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE TEN KINGS

Mahānāma's son Sotthisena¹ was sprung from the womb 1
of a Damiḷa woman, but his daughter Saṃghā was the (daugh-
ter) of the Mahesī. Now after Sotthisena had begun to reign 2
he was killed by Saṃghā. The selfsame day she had the drum
beaten² and ceded (the sovereignty) to her husband, the um- 3
brella bearer³ (of the king). The latter built the Chattaḡgā-
haka-tank and died in the course of the year.

Now a wise minister, a friend of this (umbrella bearer) 4
had the dead (prince) burnt in the (royal) demesne and secretly
made Mittasena a powerful rice thief, king in the belief 5
that he was suited for the sovereignty. He kept him in the
interior (of the palace) and under the pretext that the King
was ill, he himself wielded the sceptre. Now (on one occasion) 6
when there was a feast the people cried: "If a king is there,
let him come with us." When the Lord of men heard that, 7
he, arrayed in all his ornaments, said to those who led forth
the royal elephant: "this befits me not", and indicated the 8

¹ Pūjāvaliya, Rājāvaliya and Rājaratnākaraaya call this prince Sengot. The two first sources agree that he was murdered in the afternoon of the day he succeeded to the throne

² Government decrees were made public by beat of drum.

³ P. *chattaḡgāhakaḡantuno*. The "umbrella bearer" who has to hold the umbrella, the symbol of sovereignty, over the prince is a high court official. We have all erred however (Turnour, Wijesinha and I myself in my edition of the *Cūlavā*.) in regarding *jantu* as the name of the official. The word means simply "individual, person" and stands almost pleonastically at the end of the compound, similarly to *putta*. In none of the other sources is the name Jantu met with. Rājāvaliya takes Chattaḡgāhaka (Sinh. *Satgāhaka*) itself for a proper name. In the Pūjā-

- elephant made of stucco at the temple of the Tooth Relic¹. At the words: "it is the King's command", the elephant began
 9 to move. The (King) mounted it, rode round the town with his right side towards it and when he reached the eastern gate by the Paṭhamacetiya², he restored it to the Relic Temple³.
 10 At the elephant wall⁴ of the three great cetiyas⁵ he had a gateway⁶ constructed. After doing many meritorious works Mittasena died in a year⁷.
 11 The Damiḷa named Paṇḍu had slain Mittasena in battle and now having come over from the opposite coast⁸, held sway
 12 in Laṅkā. All the kinsmen of the noble families betook them-

valiya and the Rājaraṭnākaraya the King is called Lāmani-Tis (Lambakanna-Tissa). They agree in giving the duration of his reign as one year

¹ TURNOUR and W. have misunderstood the passage, translating *sūdhānāgam* as "the white elephant", as if the text had *suddhanāgam*. The miraculous story as related here, thus differs in no way from the version found in the Pūjāvaliya (Rājāvaliya and Rājaraṭnākaraya)

² On this cetiya see Mhvs. 14. 44 f.; GEIGER, Mhvs. trsl., p 95, n. 2; PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p 275. Remains of the thūpa have been discovered, as is shown by the newest plan of Anurādhapura.

³ The reading of the MSS. *kāṭuṃ naḡaram appayī* is certainly wrong. I have not, however, ventured to alter it. My translation gives the more likely sense. This would be in Pāli something like *dhātughare tam appayī*. The edition has *dhātunāgaṃ samappayī*. Accordingly W. taking *paṭhamacetiyaṭṭhāne* as the more distant object of *samappayī*, translates "and commanded that he should (in future) be stationed at the Paṭhama Cetiya outside the eastern gate" This is certainly wrong both as to sense and construction

⁴ The *hatthpākāra* is the supporting wall of the terrace on which the stūpa stands. It takes its name from the row of brick and stucco elephants which project from it and appear to bear the platform See below 39. 30 and 41. 95, as also Dīpavs 20. 6.

⁵ Where three large cetiyas or thūpas are named together, Ruvanveli (*mahāthūpa*), Jetavana (Eastern Stūpa) and Abhayagiri (Northern Stūpa) are meant

⁶ P. *toraṇa*, probably at the stairs which lead at the four sides to the terrace.

⁷ Pūjāvaliya also gives Mittasena one year (*harurūddak*).

⁸ That is from Southern India.

selves to Rohana, on this side of the stream¹ the Damiḷas ruled. Those of the Moriya² clan who had fled through fear of the door-keeper Subha³ dwelt here and there (scattered about the country). Amongst these was a house-owner in Nandivā-
 piḡāma⁴ named Dhātusena. His son Dāṭhānāma who lived in the village Ambilayāgu, had two sons, Dhātusena and Silā-
 tissabodhi, (both) by (a mother of) the same caste. Their mother's brother had in faith undergone the ceremony of renunciation of the world and lived in the dwelling built by Dīghasanda⁵. The young Dhātusena underwent with him likewise the cere-
 mony of world-renunciation. Now once as the latter was reciting (sacred texts) at the foot of a tree a cloud began to rain. A snake seeing this, encircled him in her folds and covered the
 book and the boy with her hood. The uncle saw that. Another time another penitent in his wrath threw dung at his head but failed therewith to disturb⁶ his spirit. The uncle beheld

¹ On the left bank of the Mahaveliganga which was always regarded as the boundary between North Ceylon with Anurādhapura and later Polonnaruwa as centre and the south-eastern province Rohana

² The organisation of society was throughout totemistic. Five clan names known to me. Taracchā, Lambakannā, Balibhojakā, Morivā, Kulīgā (and probably Gokannā), are one and all names of beasts (hyenas, tigers or hares, crows, peacocks, fork-tailed shrikes). A sixth name Monasīhakā (90. 7) contains in its second part a beast name. To these must be added the name of the Sīhalā themselves, the "Lion-men" so-called after Vijaya who belonged to the Lion clan. His father was Sīhabāhu, his grandfather a lion. Fables according to which the members of a clan are descended from the animal whose name they bear are very frequent. TYLOR, *Anfänge der Cultur*, II, 235, FRAZER, *Totemism*, p. 3 ff.

³ Mhvs. 35. 51 ff. Subha reigned 118-124 A. D.

⁴ A Nandigāma-vihāra was built by that same Subha *gaṅgante*, that is on the bank, near the Mahāvālukagangā (Mhvs 35. 58). Nandigāma was not far from Kacchakatittha. See 37. 213, note.

⁵ Dīghasandana was the *senāpati* of King Devānampiyatissa. He built (Mhvs. 15. 212 f.) a *paṇḍivana* in the Mahāvihāra which was called after him

⁶ We have to imagine that Dhātusena was sunk in meditation which even the inconsiderate conduct of the penitent could not disturb. He

20 that too and thinking: "that is in very truth a most excellent
 being, without doubt he will become king, he must be pro-
 21 tected", he went along with him into a vihāra and in-
 structed him in the Gonisa-vihāra with the object: "he must
 22 be made a master in state-craft"¹. Paṇḍuka heard this and
 sent people to seize him. In the night the Thera had a dream
 23 about it and fetched the boy away Scarcely had he departed
 when the people surrounded (the house) but did not find him
 in the pariveṇa. The twain (uncle and nephew) departed thence
 24 and when, farther south², they reached the great river called
 Goṇa³ then just in flood, they were obliged to halt, much
 25 as they wished to press forward. The Thera spake: "even as
 this river holds us back, so do thou (in future time) hold back
 26 its course by collecting its waters in a tank,"⁴ and he descended
 with the boy into the stream. A snake king saw the twain
 27 and offered its back. With its aid he reached the bank and
 brought the boy to the frontier, and (once) while staying there

was not moved to indignation by it. It must be noted that the same breach of conduct as that of the penitent is ascribed (38. 113 f.) to Dhātusena himself and that his fearful end was regarded as expiation of it.

¹ The passage is somewhat dubious. In the first place I believe that the words *ādāya tam vihāraṃ upāgato* mean· he fetched him out of the Dighasanda-pariveṇa. As that lay in Anurādhapura the youthful Dhātusena was here not safe enough from possible machinations of the king. His uncle took him to the Gonisa monastery (*gonisādivihāra* means the monastery whose name begins with *gonisa*) We do not know where this monastery was as it is not otherwise mentioned — possibly in the south of the capital For the rest I follow the conjectural *nītimā* of M. GEIGER which makes the sense far more pregnant As his uncle regards Dhātusena as the future king, his task is to acquaint him with *nīti*, i e statecraft. W. turns *Gonisādivihāra* into the *oratio recta*: "I must render this youth accomplished at the Gonisāda (sic!) vihāra" — a meaning to my mind less probable.

² Or perhaps "near the Dakkhinadesa" See 41. 35, note

³ Now the Kala-oya flowing into Dutch Bay.

⁴ An allusion to the Kālavāpi afterwards constructed by King Dhātusena. See 38. 42.

he got milk broth (as alms); he ate thereof and put what was over into the alms-bowl¹ of his nephew. The latter out of 28 reverence for the Thera poured the rice on the ground. Then the Thera perceived that he would enjoy the earth².

After reigning, King Paṇḍu died in the fifth year, likewise 29 his son Parinda in the third year³. Parinda's youngest brother, 30 Khuddapārinda, then ruled the wide earth and persecuted all those who attached themselves to Dhātusena. Dhātusena won 31 over the people for himself and fought against the King. The latter after accomplishing works both meritorious and evil, died at the end of sixteen years. Hereupon Tiritara became 32 King; two months later he was destroyed by Dhātusena who fought a great battle with him. After this prince had been 33 killed, the Daṃḍa Dāṭhiya became king, but was slain at the end of three years by Dhātusena. Hereupon there followed 34 the Daṃḍa Piṭhiya who after seven months went to his destruction. The race of the Daṃḍas was annihilated in battle with Dhātusena.

Now the Lord of men Dhātusena became king in Lankā. 35 Together with his brother he waged on the Island by every means unceasing warfare with the ravagers of the Island, the 36 Daṃḍas, building⁴ fortresses, twenty-one in number. And having thus thoroughly cleared the country and made its inhabitants 37

¹ P. *pattana*. Not "with the refection dish", as translated by TURNOUR.

² P. *bhuñjate mahim* is a figurative expression for "ruling".

³ I should now prefer the reading *putto Parindo pi tatiye, tassa bhātuko* etc. (with the Colombo edition and ВѢСНІНА). Rājaraṭnākaraṇya namely, speaks of six Daṃḍa princes who had reigned together 27 years before Dhātusena ascended the throne. The same number is found in the Rājāvaliya and the sum of the single numbers in the Cūlavamsa gives the same figure, in so far as we allot Parinda a reign of not quite three years.

⁴ TURNOUR's translation "he entirely extirpated the Daṃḍas" etc. is inexact. That is not there. The acc *Daṃḍe* in 35 can only be governed by *katvā yuddham* in 36, which is treated (see also 76. 100) as a transitive verb: after he building fortresses had fought the Daṃḍas, and after he had cleared the country and had made . . , he restored . .

happy, he restored to its former place the Order¹ which
 38 had been destroyed by the foe. But wroth with those belong-
 ing to noble clans or to kinship villages² who had atta-
 ched themselves to the Damiḥas and protected neither himself
 39 nor the sacred doctrine, he deprived them of their villages and
 left their villages defenceless. But to all the people of noble
 40 clans who had come to Rohaṇa and supported him he showed
 fitting honour and (gave) marks of esteem, and to his ministers,
 the companions of his misfortunes, he brought contentment.
 41 By damming up the great stream³ he created fields which were
 permanently watered. In the Mahāpāli Hall he distributed rice
 42 fare to the bhikkhus. As dwelling-place for cripples and for
 such as suffered from a disease the wise (prince) built asylums.
 By building the Kālavāpī⁴ he dammed up the mighty Goṇa river.
 43 After he had provided the peaceful Mahāvihāra with bands
 of ornament⁵ he had a house, worthy to behold, erected for
 44 the Bodhi Tree⁶. He provided the bhikkhus plentifully with

¹ P *sāsanaṃ* "the doctrine" is used in exactly the same sense as we speak of "church". He restored the Buddhist church.

² The contrast is between single individuals (*kulīnā*) and clan unions (*kulaḡāmā* with shortening of the final vowel metri causa). W.'s translation "nobles and landlords" is inexact.

³ The Mahāvālukagangā (Mahaveliganga).

⁴ Now Kala-veva, 25 miles (= 40 km.) S S. E. of Anurādhapura.

⁵ W. translates the passage thus: "he improved the mahāvihāra by adding regular walks thereto". It is quite right that here as one might expect, *paṇṭiyuttam* and *anākulam* are closely associated, but I do not know how *panti* can be made to mean "walk". In the Mhvs. the word is chiefly used of the decorative pictures done in relief or painted on the walls of the buildings: See 27. 37, 30. 65; 32. 4 etc. I should be inclined to use the word in this sense in our passage and in v. 69.

⁶ P. *bodhughara*. Mr. Hocart writes (18-9-26) that by *bōgē* (P. *bodhughe*) is understood now, in Dambadeniya for instance, a small chapel erected *beside* the bodhi tree. At the same time he points out that the picture of a tree with a superstructure occurs in the Sānchi reliefs. I believe in fact that in the first instance *bodhughara* or *-geha* denotes a building or a wooden roof, erected *over* the bodhi tree, of course only over the trunk which in the case of the *Ficus religiosa* is always very short, while the straggling branches spread away over it. Cf. with this

the four necessities and like Dhammāsoka¹ he brought about a reduction of the three Piṭakas. He had eighteen vihāras built and provided with revenues for the adherents of the Thera School and (he erected) eighteen tanks on the Island². Kālāvāpi-vihāra, the (vihāra) called Koṭipassāva, the (vihāra) called Dakkhināgiri and the vihāra called Vaḍḍha; the Pannavalla-kabhūta and the (vihāra) called Bhallātaka and in the district Pāṇasinna the vihāra Dhātusenapabbata; the Maṅgana(-vihāra), the Thūpaviṭṭhi(-vihāra) and the Dhātusena(-vihāra) in the north, the Pācīnakambavittṭhi(-vihāra) and the Antāmegiri(-vihāra); the (vihāras) Attāhidhātusena and Kassipittika-dhātusena, in Rohaṇa the (vihāras) Dāyagāma, Sālavāna, Vibhī-sana and the vihāra Bhillivāna: these eighteen vihāras are mentioned³. This best of men built the tanks Pādūlaka, Hambatṭṭhi, Mahādatta and others⁴, and also eighteen smaller vihāras

51. 54 I had the impression on the spot in the Mahāvihāra, that it would have been an easy matter to shut off the terrace built round the sacred tree by means of a roof For the analogous *thūpaghara* see note to 48. 66.

¹ Alluding to the Third Council at Pāṭaliputta under Asoka (269-227 B. C.) See Mhvs. trsl. p. LVI ff.

² The same is related of Dhātusena by the Pūjāvaliya, the Rājāvaliya and the Rājaraṭnākara. In these later sources the form of the name is Dāsenkaliya.

³ Of these eighteen vihāras only four are also mentioned in other parts of the Cūlavamsa, namely Kālāvāpi, Dakkhināgiri, Bhallātaka and Sālavāna. The Kālāvāpi-vihāra is perhaps the monastery which now bears the name of Aukana-vihāra. If the Koṭipassāva-vihāra is the same as the Koṭipassāvana mentioned 37. 212, then it was not founded by Dhātusena but merely restored. The same is the case with the Dakkhināgiri-vihāra which according to Mhvs. 33. 7, was founded by Saddhātissa, the brother of Dutthagāmaṇi. I am inclined (see D. FERGUSON, JRAS. C. B. 1911, XXII, Nr. 64, p. 197 ff) to identify this with the Mulakirigala-vihāra N. E. from Mātara. Instead of *viḥāro vaḍḍhanāmakō* the Col. ed. reads contrary to the MSS. *v. vaḍḍhanāmakō*, probably because a bodhi tree of this name occurs twice (43. 5 and 49. 15).

⁴ Pūjāvaliya names the following tanks as Dhātusena's work: Kālā, Balalu, Kelavasā, Badulu, Kulunnaru, Danavallā, Udanviṭṭhi, Pāṇagamu, Mānāmatu, Kitmiṇi, Mahadabarā, Saṅgamu, Surulu, Malāsu, Mahamidela, Mahaeli. The two first are the Kālā- and Balaluveva which are connected

and likewise (many small) tanks which he made over to them.
 52 He removed the Mayūra-pariveṇa¹ which was five and twenty
 cubits high, and replaced it by a pāsāda twenty-one cubits in
 53 height. To Kumārasena (his brother) he made over his former
 revenues and fixed them exactly²: (namely) one half to the
 54 Kālavāpi and two hundred fields. He renovated the ruined
 Lohapāsāda and he restored the dilapidated umbrellas³ on the
 55 three great thūpas. For the Bodhi Tree of him (the Buddha)
 to whom was vouchsafed the highest enlightenment, he insti-
 tuted a bathing festival like the Bodhi Tree festival instituted
 56 by Devānampiyatissa. He set up there sixteen bath maidens
 of bronze⁴ and arranged for the adornment and consecration
 57 of the Prince of the wise⁵. Since the planting of the great
 Bodhi Tree⁶ the rulers of Laṅkā have instituted in every twelfth
 58 year (of their reign) a festival for the Bodhi Tree. After having
 an image made of the great Thera Mahinda he brought it to
 the spot where the Thera's body had been burnt⁷, to organise

with each other. The Rājaraṭnākaraṇḍya mentions Kalahallu (Kala-Balalu?) and Badulu.

¹ The same as Mora-pariveṇa 37. 172. See note to the passage. The new building was 6 ft. (roughly 1.80 metres) lower than the former pāsāda.

² P. *appetvā visodhayi*. Cf. skr. *viśodhayati* meaning "to make clear, to determine, to fix" (BR the word *śudh* with *vi*).

³ *Chatta* in P. denotes the sharp cone forming the top of a thūpa. It is a conventionalized umbrella as symbol of dominion, of the spiritual world dominion of the Buddha. For the three thūpas see note to 38. 10.

⁴ All MSS. have *dhāvanālohakāññāyo*. In spite of 42 33 I do not venture to alter the traditional text into *-nāññāyo*. What the "bath maidens" were, whether perhaps bronze figures with water vessels, we do not know.

⁵ We must imagine a ceremony in which the image of the Buddha is clad in royal garments and solemnly consecrated just as a king at his coronation.

⁶ By Devānampiyatissa in the Mahāvihāra according to Mhv. 18. 1 ff. The Bō-tree here was according to the legend, a cutting of the tree at Bō-Gayā.

⁷ Local tradition regards the remains on the north side of the Thūpārāma as those of the cetiya built for Mahinda. To the east of the Thūpārāma lies the grave of his sister Saṃghamittā. For the death and burial of the two see Mhvs. 20. 30 ff.

there at great cost a sacrificial festival. He gave orders with 59
 the outlay of a thousand gold pieces¹, for the interpretation of
 the Dīpavaṃsa² and commanded sugar to be distributed among
 the bhikkhus dwelling there. Remembering how once a bhikkhu 60
 had thrown dung at his head, he gave to the pariveṇa where he
 himself had dwelt no gifts of any kind³. He undertook buildings 61
 for the enlargement of the Abhayuttara-vihāra and for the
 stone image of the Master (Buddha)⁴ he had a shrine erected
 with a maṇḍapa⁵. As the eye⁶ placed by Buddhādāsa (in the 62
 image) had been lost, he made a pair of costly jewels into eyes
 for the Master. Further he wrought a gleaming diadem of 63
 rays and out of dark blue gems a shining coil of hair, like-
 wise a bandolier of gold and a tuft of down (between the brows)
 and a golden garment, a mandorla of gold, a lotus flower and 64
 a magnificent lamp. There also he presented countless robes of
 divers colours⁷. In the image house of the Bahumangala-ceti- 65

¹ Where only figures are given in the mention of values the uniform currency, the *kaḥāpaṇa* should be added. On this see RHYs DAVIDS, *Buddhist India* p. 101 f.

² P *dīpetum Dīpavaṃsam*. FLEET has translated this ingeniously as: "to write a dīpikā on the Dīpavaṃsa" (JRAS. 1909, p 5, n. 1) In this *dīpikā* he recognises the (older) Mahāvaṃsa for whose composition an approximate date might thus be found I was myself (Mhvs. trsl. p. XI f.) inclined to follow him. But I have since had scruples. Verses 58—59 belong in construction most closely together. Consequently *dīpetum Dīpavaṃsam* must refer to an action which took place within the framework of a festival. That however, can only have been a reading of the Dīpavaṃsa, perhaps with historical and legendary explanations, but not the composition of so voluminous a work as the Mahāvaṃsa.

³ See above 38. 19. I believe we must read *attanā* instead of *-no*. "the pariveṇa inhabited by Dhātusena himself", an instrumental case being absolutely necessary in connection with the Partic. Praet. *vutthassa*.

⁴ This stone image was a celebrated statue of the Buddha manifestly held peculiarly sacred and which is repeatedly mentioned under various names: here *Silāsattar*, 39. 7 *Silāsambuddha*, 51. 77, 87 *Silāmayamunīda*, probably also 38. 65 *kālaselusattar* (see note to the passage)

⁵ See note to 37. 103

⁶ See above 37. 123.

⁷ Verses 62-64 show us how people were accustomed to adorn the

ya¹ he erected Bodhisatta figures and in the same (image house)
 66 he had a diadem of rays made for the image of the Master
 in black stone² and for the world teacher named Upasumbha.
 67 Also he had the ornament described above made for the Buddha
 image known as Abhiseka and a Bodhisatta temple on the left
 68 side of the Bodhi Tree. For the (Bodhisatta) Metteyya³ he had
 the complete equipment of a king prepared and ordained a
 69 guard for him within the radius of a yojana⁴. He had the
 vibhās adorned with bands of ornament called dhāturāji and

Buddha statues and decorate them with jewels. The *raṁsicūlāmaṇi* (often only *cūlāmaṇi*) seems to be the bundle of rays or flames above the head which distinguishes the figures of the Buddha from those of his disciples (cf. also below v. 66 and Mhvs. 52. 65; 53. 49). By *kesāvaṭṭaṁsu* we must understand the knot or tuft of hair on the top of the head, so often found in Buddha images. To imitate the blue-black colour of the hair it is here made of dark sapphires. The *hemavaḍḍhu* (cf. *aṁsavaḍḍhaka* Vin. I. 204¹⁰) is probably the carrying band for the alms bowl. On a bronze figure of the Buddha in my possession there is a band over the left shoulder. The tuft of hair above the nose (*uṇṇaloma*) is a well known physical feature of the Mahāvīra. The golden garment (*sovaṇṇacīvara*) is the yellow robe of the Order of Buddha and of his disciples, the lotus flower (*paduma*) the throne on which the figure sits or stands. The *pādajāla* (cf. also Mhv. 52. 65, 53. 50, as well as the inscriptional *pādajāla*, WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I 221¹⁵) is the mandorla behind the figure as is frequently seen in bronzes and in the Buddha pictures of Central Asia (cf. A. von LE COQ, Die Buddhistische Spätantike Mittelasiens V, plate 7, 18). Amongst the votive gifts there must of course be a lamp (*dīpa*). The robes of divers colours are probably draped about the image at various festivals, according to the character of these.

¹ Probably the Maṅgala-cetiya mentioned 37. 183.

² I suggest reading. *bodhisatte ca tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno* with slight alteration of *tatthāsi* which is certainly corrupt. What follows shows that the different Buddha images had their special names. The Kālasela was obviously so called because the statue was made of black stone (amphibolic gneiss?). It is very likely the same as the *Silāsambuddha*, -*satthar* (see above v. 61, note). The Abhiseka is named again 39. 6, 40.

³ See 37. 242, note.

⁴ FLEET (JRAS. 1906 p. 1011 f.) calculates the Buddhist *yojana* as being 4.54 miles = roughly 8 km.

(he erected) for a hundred thousand (gold pieces) a large and splendid house for the Bodhi Tree. In the Thūpārāma (he instituted) as offering to the thūpa a restoration of what was ruined (in the thūpa). Likewise in the Temple of the Tooth Relic he repaired what was dilapidated, and to the Tooth Relic he dedicated a casket for the tooth relic, a halo made of closely fitting mosaic thickly set with precious stones¹ and golden lotus flowers, and he instituted offerings without number. To the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he distributed robes and other (gifts). Having undertaken renovations in the vihāras here and there, he had some fine stucco work executed for the wall of the (Relic) house. (In the same way) he had valuable stucco work made for the three big cetiyas and put up a golden umbrella² as well as a ring for protection against lightning³. Dhammarucika bhikkhus⁴ dwelt (at that time) in the Mahāvihāra which had been destroyed by the ruthless Mahāsena. After Dhātusena had built the Ambatthala-vihāra on the Cetiya-pabbata⁵ he wished to hand it over to the adherents of the Thera School. But being entreated by the Dhammarucikas the monarch accordingly made it also over to them. For the pro-

¹ W. here mistakenly connects *mahagghamanisaṃkiṇṇaṃ* with *padumāni* instead of with *raṃsaṃ ghanakuṭṭimaṃ*. For *ghanakuṭṭima* cf. Cūlav. ed. II, List of Words s. v. *kuṭṭima*; further Mhvs. 51. 69.

² Cf. above note to 38. 54. The cones of the thūpas were gilded. Cf. with verses 74 and 75 also 41. 95.

³ P. *vajiracumbaṭaṃ*. It is related Mhvs. 36. 66 of Saṃghatissa that he placed a *vajiracumbaṭaṃ* on the top of the Mahāthūpa. On this the Tīkā has the following interesting notice (p. 487, 19): *talheva Mahāthūpassa muddhaṃ sataśahassagghanakaṃ mahāmaṇiṇa patitthāpetvā tassa heṭṭhā asaniuppaddavaviddhaṃsanatthaṃ ādhāraṇalayaṇa katvā anagghaṃ vajiracumbaṭakaṇa pūjesīti attha*. It is thus a case of an appliance against lightning placed at the top of the cone of the thūpa. What is doubtful is whether *vajira* means here "diamond" or "lightning".

⁴ A sect which according to Mhvs. 5. 13, branched off in Ceylon. For the history of this sect see A. M. Hocart, ASC. Mem. I. 15 ff.

⁵ Name of the Missaka mountain (now Mihintale). Cf. above note to 37. 69. The Dhammarucikas, therefore, got possession of both vihāras, the Mahāvihāra and the Ambatthala-vihāra.

cession of the Relic he had a boat¹ made of copper and instituted a regular alms with the produce of twice five ammaṇas (field)². Within and without the city this incomparable (prince) like Dhammāsoka³ built temples to the Victor (Buddha) and raised images. What man would be capable of enumerating one after another his meritorious works? Thus these have been but superficially noted.

Dhātusena had two sons: Kassapa by a mother of unequal birth and the mighty Moggallāna by a mother of equal caste, also a charming daughter who was dear to him as his life. On his sister's son he bestowed the dignity of senāpati⁴ and gave him his daughter (to wife). Without blame (on her part) he struck her with his whip on the thigh. When the King saw the blood-stained garment of his daughter and heard (of the affair) he in his wrath had his nephew's mother⁵ burnt naked. From that time onward (his nephew) nursed hatred (against the king), joined Kassapa, awoke in him the desire for the royal dignity, estranged him from his father, won over his subjects and took the ruler (Dhātusena) prisoner alive. Thereupon Kassapa raised the umbrella of dominion and destroyed the people who sided with his father, having every scoundrel as his comrade. Moggallāna whose intention it was to fight him, betook himself, as he could raise no forces, to Jambudīpa to find troops there. Now to torment still farther the Lord of men (Dhātusena) sorely smitten as he already was

¹ The use of barks or boats for carrying the images or symbols of the Deity (here the relics) in festive processions is widespread. Germany offers numerous examples (MANNHARDT, Wald- und Feldkulte, I. 593 ff., v. SCHRÖDER, Arische Religion II. 661 Anm.); but we meet with the custom also among the Egyptians (TIELE, Religion im Altertum I. 67) and among other peoples.

² P. *ammaṇa* is a dry measure for measuring corn, then also the measure for a field, as much as one can sow with an *ammaṇa*. In Sinh. an *amunu* (see CLOUGH, Sinhalese Dictionary) represents as field measure about 2 to 2½ acres (roughly 0.8 to 1 hectare).

³ Cf. above 38. 44 with note.

⁴ P. *senāpacca*, the dignity of commander-in-chief of the army (*senāpati*).

⁵ Thus his own sister.

by loss of his kingdom, separation from his son (Moggallāna) and by life in a dungeon, the deluded (Senāpati) spake thus 88 to King Kassapa: "There are treasures lying in the King's palace, O King, has thy father told it to thee?" On the answer 89 "no" he said: "Knowest thou not his intention, O Monarch? for Moggallāna he keeps his wealth". When he heard that, 90 this most wicked of men grew furious and sent messengers to his father with the command to make known the place where the treasure lay. The latter thought: this is a pretext 91 of the villain to kill us, and he kept silence. The messengers went and told the King. He became very wroth and sent 92 (messengers) again and again. Dhātusena thought: it is well, I will visit my friend¹, bathe in the Kālavāpi and then die, 93 and (he) spake to the messengers: "if he lets me go to the Kālavāpi he shall learn it." The messengers went and told 94 the King and the King joyful in his thirst for gold, sent messengers to whom he gave a chariot with a damaged axle². As 95 the Monarch drove thither, the driver who guided the chariot, ate roasted corn and gave him also a little of it. He ate of 96 it, had joy over the man and gave him a leaf for Moggallāna asking him to make him gate-keeper as a reward³. Thus is 97 good fortune fleeting as the lightning. How then can the sensible man be intoxicated by it? When the Thera heard: the 98 King comes, he put aside the bean soup and chicken⁴ he had received remembering: the King likes that, and took his seat 99

¹ He means the Thera who had been his teacher. Cf. 38. 16 ff.

² P. *jññena-m-akkhinā*. W. translates "with his eyes sunk in grief", but *akkhi* is here not "eye", but „axle". The word for "axle" is otherwise *akkha* = Skr. *aksa*. The form *akkhi* which is borne out by our passage, is important as it is nearer to the Latin *axis*, lit. *as2is*. In *jññenamakkhinā* the consonant *m* is as often used to remove a hiatus. See GEIGER, Pāli § 73. 2. It would also be possible to read *jññena c'akkhinā*.

³ The inf. *kātuṃ* is in a sense to be taken twice, first with the obj. *saṃgahaṃ*, then with the obj. *dvāranāyakaṃ*.

⁴ P. *maṃsaṃ sākulaṃ* for *sākulaṃ* according to the perfectly correct conjecture of SUMANGALA and BATUWANTUDAWA, primarily "flesh of birds".

(awaiting the guest). The King came, greeted him respectfully
 100 and took a place at his side. Thus the twain sat side by side
 (joyful) as if they had gained a kingdom, and their mutual
 101 converse chased their cares away. After the Thera had entertained the King, he admonished him in many ways and encouraged him to strive ceaselessly, showing him how the world
 102 is subject to the law (of impermanency). Then Dhātusena betook himself to the tank, plunged as he liked therein, bathed and
 103 drank and spake to the King's henchmen: "This here, my friends, is my whole wealth"¹. When the King's henchmen heard that they took him with them to the town and informed the King.
 104 The Lord of men thought: he is keeping his treasure for his son and as long as he lives he will estrange the people of the Island from me. He was filled with fury and commanded
 105 the Senāpati thus: "Slay my father." He (the Senāpati) rejoiced (saying): now I have seen the back of my foe². Full of bitterness, adorned with all his ornaments, he betook himself to the
 106 King (Dhātusena) and strutted up and down before him. When the King saw that he thought: this villain wants to ruin my
 107 soul even as my body and bring it to hell. Shall I fulfil his wish by letting anger rise within me? Awaking loving thoughts
 108 within himself, he spake to the Senāpati: "I have the same feelings for thee as for Moggallāna."³ The other laughing shook his head. When the ruler saw this he realised: to-day even
 109 he will slay me. Thereupon the brutal (Senāpati) stripped the king naked, bound him with chains and fetters in a niche in
 110 the wall³ with his face outwards⁴ and closed it up with clay. What wise man seeing this would still hanker after pleasures

¹ With these words Dhātusena points at the Kālavāpi constructed by him

² That is: I am the victor, I have won the game.

³ Lit. in the inside of the wall.

⁴ P. *puratthābhimukham*. W. translates this "with the face to the east". This is of course possible, but one sees no particular reason why he should face the east. According to my conception of the passage, the idea is that Dhātusena's torture should be increased by his being a witness of the whole process of being immured.

or life or fame? The Lord of men Dhātusena went thus after 112
 18 years¹, murdered by his son, to the King of the gods. When
 this king was building the Kālavāpi tank he saw a bhikkhu 113
 sunk in meditation and as he could not rouse him out of his
 absorption, he had a clod of earth flung at the bhikkhu's head. 114
 The consequence of this deed experienced in his lifetime has
 been described (in the story of his violent death).

These ten excellent kings also with all their treasures have 115
 fallen into the jaws of death, robbed of their treasures. Can
 a wise man when he sees the fleeting nature of the rich and
 of wealth² crave for earthly joys³?

Here ends the thirty-eighth chapter, called 'The Ten Kings',
 in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
 of the pious.

¹ Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājaratn. all give the same number.

² P. *bhogavato dhane* ca. The loc. *dhane* stands, as frequently, for the genitive *ghanassa*

³ W. does not translate this indispensable strophe. It occurs in all the MSS. known to me.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS

1 Thereupon the wicked ruler called Kassapa sent forth his
2 groom and his cook. But as he was unable (through these)
to slay his brother, he betook himself through fear to Sīha-
3 giri¹ which is difficult of ascent for human beings. He cleared
(the land) round about, surrounded it with a wall and built
a staircase² in the form of a lion. Thence it took its name
4 (of Sīhāgiri). He collected treasures and kept them there
well protected and for the (riches) kept by him he set guards
5 in different places. Then he built there a fine palace, worthy

¹ Now Sigiri, about 38 miles S. E. of Anurādhapura and ten miles N. E. of Dambulla in the Central Province.

² P. *nissenigehāni*. The word cannot refer, as W. assumes, to the galleries which partly cut into the rock, lead halfway up the face of the Sigiri rock, as *sihākārena* is inapplicable to these. It is far more likely that what is meant is the staircase built on the north terrace of the rock at the end of the galleries where the second half of the ascent begins. This structure had in fact the form of a recumbent lion, perhaps of the fore part of the body. It was made of brick. The claws of the outstretched right paw of the lion still exist. Their dimensions — they reach to the breast of a man standing upright — give some idea of the gigantic proportions of the lion's figure. It appears there was a door between the two paws into the breast of the lion whence steps led through its body to the beginning of the staircase leading to the heights of the Sigiri rock. I am inclined to think that this staircase was of wood. There were no galleries on this part of the rock on its northern side. The ascent is made now by means of a steep iron ladder. The use of the plural *nissenigehāni* is due to the fact that the structure consists of a series of separate parts.

to behold, like another Ālakamandā¹ and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera. The Senāpati by name Migāra, built a pari- 6
veṇa called after himself and a house for the victor Abhiseka².
He sought (permission to hold) a consecration festival³ for it 7
even greater than that for the stone image of the Buddha⁴.
As leave was not granted him, he refrained with the resolve:
I shall seek for it (again) under the sovereignty of the right-
ful ruler.

Kassapa began to rue the deed he had done and with the 8
thought: how can I be saved? he performed many meritorious
works. He planted gardens about the gates of the city and 9
mango groves over the Island at a yojana's distance from each
other. He restored the Issarasamaṇārāma⁵ so that it was 10
larger than the former ground⁶, bought villages for its sup-
port and granted them to it. He had two daughters, Bodhī 11
and Uppalavaṇṇā; he gave their names and his own to this
vihāra⁷. When he handed it over to the samaṇas of the 12

¹ See above note to 37. 106.

² As to this and other images of the Buddha see 38. 65-67 with note.

³ W. (note to the passage): "The *abhiseka* of an image is the setting or painting of its eyes, a ceremony generally performed with great splendour. It is the *Netra-pinkama* of the Sinhalese Buddhists". The name of the Abhiseka festival suggests however, that it had a still more comprehensive meaning.

⁴ The festival instituted by Dhātusena for the Silā-Buddha is described 38. 62 ff. See the notes.

⁵ Now the Isurumuni-vihāra, in the south of Anurādhapura situated not far from the Tissaveva tank. It is first mentioned under Devāṇampiyatissa (Mhvs. 20. 14).

⁶ I join *adhikaṃ* directly with *kāretvā* "he made ... larger than ... See the following note.

⁷ Our chronicle here gets valuable confirmation from inscriptions. In an inscription of Mahinda IV. found in Vessagiri, it is stated that the King had taken care that the Isurameṇu Bo-Upulvan-Kasubgiri-vihāra should be constantly supplied with water from the Tissaveva (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I, p. 31 ff.). The Vessagiri-vihāra lies only about 1½ a mile south of the Issarasamaṇa-vihāra at the south-east corner of the Tissaveva. From the agreement of the inscription and the expression *kāretvā pubbatthuto adhikaṃ* in v. 10 it is clear that Kassapa I. made a great

Thera School they were loth to take it, fearing the reproach
 13 of the people¹, because it was the work of a parricide. As
 however, the King wished to give it to them, he presented it
 to the image of the Supreme Buddha. Then the bhikkhus
 14 agreed, thinking: it belongs to the Master². In the same way
 he built a vihāra in the Niyanti-garden near the mountain,
 15 which then bore their name³. He granted this vihāra equip-
 ped with the four necessities, to the Dhammarucis⁴ and in
 16 addition a garden lying to the north of it. Now once when
 eating a tasty dish of rice prepared with sannīra⁵ fruit, cooked
 with butter and exquisite spices which a woman had offered
 17 him, he thought: this is delicious, I will treat the brethren⁶
 to it, and he had the like dish of rice given to the bhikkhus
 18 along with a robe. He kept the Uposatha festival⁷ and culti-
 vated the appamaññā⁸, he took on himself the pious du-

monastic establishment out of the Vessagiri and Issarasamāṇa vihāras
 and that this enlarged monastery was named after his two daughters
 and after Kassapa himself. WICKREMASINGHE'S assumption loc cit. is
 thus confirmed. Vessagiri is first mentioned Mhvs. 20 15 in close
 connection with Issarasamāṇa.

¹ Lit. "somewhat fearing what the world finds blamable".

² P. *bhogo no satthuno*, thus something that benefits not the mona-
 stery or its inmates, but the Buddha himself.

³ Uncertain. I take *Niyanti* for the name of the garden. The
 mountain near which it lies is very likely the Sīhagiri. *Tesamāmo*
 means the names of the King and of his daughters.

⁴ See above note to 38. 75.

⁵ P. *sannīra* occurs besides here three times. 74. 204 as tree along
 with *kadalī*, *pūga*, *nālikera*; as fruit along with many other fruits 100 5,
 and as blossom 100. 26. It is pretty certain that what is meant is the
 royal coco-nut.

⁶ P. *ayyānaṃ* according to the happy conjecture of S and B. *Ayyā*
 used of the bhikkhus in general is found for instance Vin. I. 101¹⁶, it
 is frequently used with a proper name as *ayyo Anando* Vin. II. 290²⁸,
ayyo Mahākassapo S. II. 215³¹ etc.

⁷ That is he kept on the Uposatha days the five or eight Buddhist
 moral commands (*sīlāni*, see CHILDERS s. v.)

⁸ By *appamaññā* certain virtues are understood which the believing
 Buddhist practises and which regulate his relations with the outside
 world. There are four of these, D. III. 223 f: *mettā* "a loving spirit",
karuṇā "pity"; *mudītā* "joyous sympathy", *upekkhā* "serenity".

ties¹ and had books copied. He made images, built alms-halls 19 and the like in great numbers: always he lived in fear of the other world and of Moggallāna.

Now in the eighteenth year the royal hero Moggallāna 20 came hither at the information of the Nigaṇṭhas² with twelve distinguished friends from Jambudīpa and collected troops at 21 the Kuṭhāri-vihāra in the Āmbaṭṭhakola district. When the 22 King heard of it he thought: I will seize and devour³ him, and though the soothsayer declared it to be impossible, he went forth with an array of forces. Moggallāna likewise (set 23 forth) with an army ready for battle, accompanied by his heroic friends, like to the god Sujāmpati⁴ who fares forth⁵ to fight with the demons. When the two hosts fell on each 24 other like two seas that have burst their bounds, they fought a mighty battle. Kassapa espying a great stretch of swamp 25 in front of him, turned his elephant to seek another road. When his troops seeing that, with the cry: Friends, our com- 26 mander here flees! broke up in disorder, the troops of Moggallāna cried: "We see their backs"⁶! But the King with his 27 dagger cut his throat, raised the knife on high and stuck it

¹ The *dhutagā* are certain ascetic observances of an outward kind thirteen in number. It is not expected that these should be kept simultaneously, but it is meritorious to observe one or other of them. They are meant primarily for the bhikkhus not for laymen.

² Name for the adherents of the Jaina sect.

³ As a ferocious beast seizes his prey and devours it.

⁴ According to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* 18 name of the god Sakka or Indra "consort of Sujā".

⁵ *Moggallāno pi* must be supplemented by the verb *nikkhami* from the preceding verse. The part. *gacchanto* belongs to Sujāmpati. It must not be regarded as representing a finite verb, as we have to deal here not with the description of a condition but with the narration of a fact.

⁶ Cf. for this phrase 38. 105 with the note. The construction of the sentence is difficult. The Col. Ed. changes *balakāyā* into *balakāyo* and reads with the inferior MSS. *paḍhujjitha*. It is possible to retain the reading of the better MSS. if we assume for this passage the freer use of the gerund in the sense of an absolute participle, as it frequently occurs in the later chapters. See *Cūlav. ed., Introd. p. XVI*; as also 48. 78—79.

28 in the sheath¹. Moggallāna carried out the ceremonies of
 burning, glad at his brother's deed². He took the whole of
 29 the (royal) treasure³ and came to the capital⁴. When the
 bhikkhus heard of this event, decently clad in their upper
 and nether robes, and having cleansed the *vihāra*, they ran-
 30 ged themselves according to rank. When Moggallāna came
 to the Mahāmeghavana⁵, as the King of the gods to the
 Nandana (grove), he made his great army turn back outside
 31 the elephant wall⁶. He approached the community, greeted
 it respectfully and pleased with this community, he as a mark
 of distinction, presented it with his umbrella⁷. The community
 32 returned it to him. They called the spot the *Chattavaḍḍhi*⁸,

¹ W. has discussed the passage and the parallel passages 41. 24 f., 41. 52 f., 44. 112 and 116, 50. 23 in detail p. 6 ff. All objections vanish if one takes *churikaṃ* as the object of *ukkhapīya* and not *sisam*. It is also the object of *hatthimhi appetvā* in 44. 112. In 44. 116 we have only *khīptvā churikaṃ* and in 41. 24 instead of it *katvā kosiyaṃ asiputtakaṃ*. As to *sisam chindati* W. himself has seen that it must not be translated too literally by "he cuts his head", but by "he cuts his throat". This clearly follows from 41. 52 f. where we first have *chinditum sisam attano* and then *chindi kandharaṃ*. The meaning of our passage (39. 27) is: Kassapa dying swings his dagger in the air to call his brother's attention to his own suicide. — Kassapa's date is approximately fixed by Chinese sources where we are told that a letter of the king was received at the Chinese court in the year 527 A. D. See JRAS. C. Br. xxiv, Nr. 68, p. 85; H. W. CODRINGTON, H. C., p. 30.

² Because he had thereby spared him the necessity of meting out justice himself.

³ P. *sādhana* denotes the Regalia. Cf. *rājasādhana* 41. 20.

⁴ Thus I translate *nagaraṃ varaṃ*.

⁵ The park in the south of Anurādhapura in which the Mahāvihāra lay.

⁶ The *hatthipākāra* is by no means the town wall as W. thinks (the elephant rampart of the city) but the wall supporting the terrace of the Mahāthūpa. The passage deals not with the march into the town, but with the entry into the domain of the monastery. The bhikkhus are assembled on the terrace. Moggallāna lets his troops turn back and goes up alone to greet them. Cf. above 38. 10 with note.

⁷ "In token of submission to the Church" (W.). The umbrella is the symbol of the ruler.

⁸ That is: "increase, flourishing of the umbrella". Its value has

and a pariveṇa built there received this name. After he had entered the city he visited the two other vihāras¹, honoured 33 also the community there and having attained to the great kingdom, he protected the world in justice. But at the thought: 34 high dignitaries have attached themselves to my father's murderer, he gnashed his teeth² with rage — therefore he received the name Rakkhasa³ — and had more than a thou- 35 sand of these dignitaries put to death. He cut off their ears and their noses and sent many into banishment. When he 36 heard the (sermon about) the pious doctrine he became peaceful in spirit and well minded and instituted a great almsgiving, as a rain-cloud (pours a shower of rain) over the earth. On 37 the day of the full moon of the month Phussa⁴ he ordained a yearly alms and since then this alms is customary in the Island to this day. And the charioteer⁵ who had given his 38 father roasted corn, brought his father's letter and showed it to Moggallāna. When the latter saw it he wept, praised 39 the love he had borne to his father and he, the powerful one, appointed him to the office of gate-keeper. And the Senāpati 40 Migāra who had sent him reports in a fitting manner, instituted a dedication festival for the Abhiseka-Buddha according to his desire⁶. The vihāras Daḷha and Dāṭhākondañña by name on 41 the Sīhagiri Moggallāna granted to the adherents of the Dhammaruci and Sāgali Schools⁷. The Pabbata-vihāra which 42

been increased by the King receiving it again out of the hand of the bhikkhus.

¹ Namely Jetavana and Abhayagiri.

² P. *nīhari dāṭhaṃ*, lit. he revealed his eye-tooth, let it be seen, bared it. The alteration into *dāyam* in the Col. Ed. is certainly wrong. It deprives the following *rakkhasanāmavā* of all sense.

³ That is "devil". Characteristic of all representations of Rakkhasas (Skr. *rāksasa*) are the powerful eye-teeth protruding from the mouth like the tusks of a boar.

⁴ December to January. See calendar Mhvs. trsl. p. 2, n. 3.

⁵ Cf. above 38. 95 f

⁶ See 39. 6 f.

⁷ The Sāgalīkas are like the Dhammarucikas a sect only found in Ceylon. Mhv. 5. 13; 38. 75. The Dhammarucikas had their seat in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. See also 52. 17.

he had built he granted to the Thera called Mahānāma in
 43 the Dīghāsana vihāra¹. Having built a shelter for bhikkhunīs²
 called Rājini, the wise (king) made it over to the bhikkhunīs
 of the Sāgalika School.

44 A man of the clan of the Lambakaṇṇas³ named Dāṭhā-
 pabbhuti, who had been in the service of Kassapa, had in ill-
 45 humour betaken himself to the Mereliya district and dwelt
 46 there. He had a son known by the name of Silākāla. He too
 out of fear of Kassapa had betaken himself with his kinsman
 47 Moggallāna from here⁴ to Jambudīpa and had undergone the
 ceremony of world-renunciation in the Bodhimaṇḍa-vihāra⁵.
 Fulfilling his duties to the community with zeal and great
 48 skill he had (once) presented a mango fruit to the community.
 The community pleased thereat, gave him the name of Am-
 49 basāmaṇera⁶. Therefore he bore that name. Later on as
 described in the Kesadhātuvamśa⁷, he got possession of the
 50 Hair Relic and brought it hither from that land. Moggallāna
 honoured him, accepted the Hair Relic, preserved it in a pre-
 51 cious casket of crystal, housed it in a beautiful building with
 a picture of Dīpaṃkara's⁸ city and instituted with pomp a

¹ It is very probable that what is meant here is the vihāra built by Dīghasanda (see 38. 16). But whether with the Col. Ed. we are at liberty to alter the name seems to me doubtful. Mahānāma is the author of the older Mahāvamśa.

² P. *bhikkhunupassayaṃ*. This is the usual name for vihāras intended for female members of the order

³ One of the most famous clans in Ceylon from which sprang a whole series of Sinhalese kings.

⁴ The author lives in Ceylon and Anurādhapura. The former is for him *ayam dīpa*, "this our island", Anurādhapura *idaṃ nagaraṃ* "this our capital"; "here, hither, from here" means "in, to, from Ceylon (or also: Anurādhapura)" etc.

⁵ Cf. 37. 215 with note.

⁶ That means: the novice with the mango fruit. After the *pabbajja* and until the *upasampadā* one is not *bhikkhu*, but *sāmaṇera* that is a future samāṇa, one in the making.

⁷ The work is unknown to us. Neither as regards period or content has it anything to do with the Chakesadhātuvamśa published by MINAYEFF, JPTS. 1895, p. 5 ff.

⁸ Dīpaṃkara is the first of the 24 legendary forerunners of the hi-

great sacrificial festival. He had statues made of his maternal 52
uncle and of his wife and placed them there, as well as the
beautiful figure of a horse¹. Further he had constructed a 53
casket for the Hair Relic, an umbrella, a maṇḍapa studded with
jewels, portraits of the two eminent disciples and a fan of
hair². The King also made provision for the relic greater 54
than his own, and the Ruler entrusted Silākāla with the
keeping of the relic appointing him sword-bearer³ — hence 55
he was known by the name of Asiggāhasilākāla — and gave
him his sister (to wife) together with (the necessary) revenues.
Here we give but a short extract; an intelligent man can find 56
a full account in every respect in the Kesadhātuvamṣa. By 57
instituting a guard for the sea-coast he freed the island from
danger⁴. By a regulative act⁵ he purified the good doctrine,

storical Buddha. He worked in the town of Rammavati or Rammanagara, Buddhavaṃsa 2. 207 ff.; JāCo I. 11³ ff. The conjecture *Dīpaṃkarassa nāthassa* of the Col. Ed. instead of *Dīpaṃkaranagarassa* is tempting. I have however, not accepted it, because it is difficult to see how the first perfectly clear and simple reading could be turned into the second. It seems to me that we have to deal here with a picture with which the house was decorated.

¹ W. has not properly understood the construction of the sentence. There can be no question of its being "other images also". The literal translation would be as follows. "having fashioned his uncle and his wife of gold, he placed the images there and a beautiful image of a horse". These two individuals had obviously played an important part in the bringing over of the relic, the horse too, very likely. It is impossible to say more in the absence of the quoted text (Kesadhātuvamṣa).

² The assortment seems at first curious. We have to imagine the reliquary resting under a pillar-supported canopy, the *ratanaṃḍapa*, on a royal throne. Umbrella and fan made of a yak's tail (*vālavijani*), are attributes of the royal dignity. The portraits of the two *aggasāvaka* — Sāriputta and Moggallāna — stand at the side of the relic, as the highest dignitaries at the side of the throne.

³ The *asiggāha* is like the *chattaggāha* (see 38. 3 with note), a high court official. Cf. 42. 42; 44. 43 ff. See the Introduction III.

⁴ Of a hostile attack from India.

⁵ P. *dharmakammēna*. This is an act which the priesthood carries out according to the formalities laid down in the Vinaya. The King orders its carrying out. Cf. with this especially 44. 76, 52. 44. It is

58 the Order of the Victor (Buddha). The Senāpati Uttara founded a practising-house¹ which was called after him. After Moggallāna had carried out meritorious works he went to his death in the eighteenth year (of his reign²).

59 Thus even he though better far than the ferocious Kassapa³, was not able once his merit was exhausted, to conquer approaching death as if he were but its slave. Therefore the wise when they have conquered the fear of death, will be happy. Nirvana the highest eternal state of bliss is attainable (only) by him who knows the (nature of the) ego.

Here ends the thirty-ninth chapter, called "The History of The Two Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

always concerned with the removal of abuses which have crept into the Order and with the punishment of guilty bhikkhus.

¹ See 37. 232 with note.

² Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give him 18 years.

³ *Kassapakopino* is a transposition of *kopikassapassa*. Cf. 37. 69, n. The whole strophe is very corrupt in the MSS. I have attempted to reconstruct it in less arbitrary fashion than has been done in the Col. Ed.

CHAPTER XLI

THE NINE KINGS

After his death his vigorous son of god-like form, called 1
 Kumārādhātusena¹ became king. In the vihāra built by 2
 his father he had repairs carried out, he had a revision made
 of the sacred texts and he reformed the Order. He supplied 3
 the great community abundantly with the four necessities and
 after accomplishing many meritorious works, he passed away
 in the ninth year² (of his reign). Hereupon his son Kitti- 4
 sena became king. After he had in divers ways done meri-
 torious works he was forced to quit the throne in the ninth
 month³. His mother's brother, Śiva killed him and became 5
 (himself) king; he did several meritorious deeds and was slain⁴
 on the five-and-twentieth day by Upatissa.

¹ Pūjāv and Rājāv. — in the first of these the King is called
Kumārādāsa — tell of his friendship with Kālidāsa. Kumārādāsa flung
 himself into the flames of the pyre on which his dead friend was burnt
 and died with him. Popular tradition places this event in Mātara. Here
 as we observed for ourselves on the spot, the people are well acquainted
 with the names of the two friends and their tragic fate. Tradition
 makes Kālidāsa the son of the first minister of Kumārādāsa's father and
 the youthful comrade of Kumārādāsa. The grave of the latter in Mātara
 is still pointed out.

² Pūjāv. also gives him 9 years. Likewise Rājāv. (the translation
 gives erroneously 18 years).

³ Rājāv. gives the length of reign as 9 years, Pūjāv. in accordance
 with Mhvs. as 9 months.

⁴ Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. call the prince Mādisivraja.
 He reigned according to the Pūjāv. 25 days, Rājāv. has erroneously 25 years.

6 Then Upatissa¹, husband of the sister of Moggallāna and
 7 his general, having slain Sīva, became king. After the king
 by granting offices and the like, had won over the people for
 himself, he gave his daughter (in marriage) to Silākāla to-
 8 gether with (the necessary) revenues. King Upatissa had a
 son, Kassapa. He was a hero associated with sixteen heroic
 9 comrades of the same breed. He lived by his manliness in
 pious fashion, showing reverence to the aged².

10 Silākāla whose heart was deluded by lust for power,
 hereupon betook himself to southern Malaya³, collected a
 11 mighty force and plundering the frontier, arrived near the city
 (Anurādhapura). When Kassapa the eldest (son of the King)
 12 heard that, he mounted his favourite elephant, comforted his
 father, took his companions with him and fared forth to meet
 13 Silākāla. After the latter had been routed seven or eight times
 and his courage had ebbed, he brought the districts east and
 14 west by a ruse into his power and advanced to the Pācīna-
 tissapabbata⁴ to renew the combat. Kassapa with his comrades
 15 mounted his elephant, came thither, sent the rebels flying and
 drove his elephant to the summit of the mountain. Hence they
 16 called him Girikassapa. Silākāla remaining obdurate, made
 the kingdom still more rebellious and brought it entirely into
 17 his power. He advanced with an invincible army and train
 of followers upon the town and besieged it. For seven days

¹ Sinhalese sources call this king Lāmaṇiupatissa. He sprang thus from the Lambakaṇṇa clan.

² P. *jeṭṭhāpacāyaka* does not mean "honoured his parents greatly", the term is found in *kule jeṭṭhāpacāyika* Pv. 2. 7. 18 beside *matteyya* and *petteyya*. Cf. further *kulaṇṇesthāpacāyaka* Mahāvastu I. 198⁶. It is a matter of the reverence shown to the oldest and noblest members of the clan.

³ Name of the Central Province, the mountain country of Ceylon.

⁴ One of the mountains east of Anurādhapura. King Jeṭṭhatissa I. (beginning of 4th century A. D.) had founded a monastery there and had brought the stone image of the Buddha from the Thūpārāma to the new vihāra (Mhvs. 36. 127 ff). His successor Mahāsena then transferred it to the Abhayagiri-vihāra (37. 14). It was at the Pācīnatissapabbata that according to 44. 14 ff., the decisive battle was fought between Saṃghatissa and Moggallāna III.

the King's people fought, then they weakened. Thereupon 18
 Kassapa thought: "All living creatures here are perishing be-
 cause of the siege of the town, the troops are enfeebled, the
 King is old and blind. I will take my father and mother 19
 (for safety) to Merukandara¹, collect the troops and then
 punish the rebels²." In the night he took his comrades and 20
 the royal treasure³ and set off for Malaya. But as the guides 21
 did not know the way, they lost themselves and wandered
 hither and thither near the town. Hearing of this Silākāla 22
 hastened out and surrounded them. A terrible fight ensued.
 As the battle went off like the battle of the gods and the 23
 demons, when his comrades had fallen and the royal elephant
 had succumbed, Kassapa handed him over to his driver, cut 24
 his throat, wiped the blood from his dagger and stuck it in
 the sheath. Then supporting both hands on the temples of 25
 the elephant he sank down. Upatissa when he heard this,
 died also, pierced by the arrow of grief.

When after a year and a half⁴ (of his reign) Upatissa had en- 26
 tered Heaven Silākāla became king. Together with his former
 name he was called Ambasāmaṇerasilākāla⁵. Living for thir- 27
 teen years (longer) he protected the Island in justice⁶. He had 28
 delicious meats (prepared in the same way as) for the King,
 distributed in the Mahāpāli hall and concerned for the wel-

¹ A district in Malaya which often served as place of refuge (cf. 44. 28, 47. 58 &c.).

² Here *me* stands for *mayā* and belongs to *nigaṇhiya* "by me is . . . to be punished". The gerunds *katvā* and *saṃgaheṭvā* are then to be taken in conjunction with *me*.

³ For *rājasādhana* see note to 39. 28. Cf. also 48. 89.

⁴ Pūjāv. the same, Rājāv. however, one year and ten months.

⁵ See above 39. 48—50.

⁶ Pūjāv. and Nik.-s. call the King Lāmāṇi-Ambaheraṇa-Salamēvan (= Silāmeghavaṇṇa), likewise Rājaratn.; In Rājāv. he is called Lāmāṇi-Akbō (= Aggobodhi). Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him in agreement with our chronicle, a reign of 13 years. Rājaratn. contains a chronological statement. It says that his reign began 1088 years after Buddha's Nirvana and 852 years after the introduction of the Buddhist doctrine into Ceylon.

fare of his people, he increased the revenues of the hospitals.
 29 Daily he sacrificed to the Bodhi Tree, he had images made and
 to all bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he distributed the three
 30 garments¹. He decreed throughout the Island preservation of
 life for all creatures. In most fitting manner he sacrificed to
 31 the Hair Relic brought (hither) by himself. The Rahera canal
 he made over to the Abhayuttara-vihāra. Here beside the
 32 Monarch of trees² he set up the throne called Kunta which
 he had fetched away from the eastern vihāra of the adherents
 of the Thera School. All his life long he performed meri-
 torious deeds without number.

33 The King had three sons: Moggallāna, Dāṭhāpabhuti and
 Upatissa. To the eldest (Moggallāna) he handed over the
 34 Eastern Province and after conferring on him the dignity of
 the title of Ādipāda, he dismissed him with the words: "Go
 35 and dwell there". He went and took up his abode there. On
 the second son (Dāṭhāpabhuti) he conferred the post of Ma-
 layarāja³ and the province of Dakkhipadesa and entrusted him
 36 with the care of the sea-coast⁴. But Upatissa, a young man

¹ Namely robe (*saṃghātī*), under-garment (*uttarāsaṅga*) and shirt (*antaravāsaka*).

² That is, beside the Bodhi Tree in the Abhayagiri-vihāra (*tattha*!).

³ I believe that *ṭhānaṃ Malayarājaggaṃ* means the same as *ṭh. Malayarājādīm* or in composition *Malayarājādīṭṭhānaṃ*. But this is a circumlocution for *Malayarājatṭhānaṃ*, as so often happens, for instance *Kumārādīdhātusena* (= *Kumārādhātusena*) 41. 1. See following note for the title *Malayarāja*.

⁴ Here appears for the first time the title *ādipāda* which in course of time becomes the title for the princes of the royal house. The heir to the throne is Mahādipāda. The title *Malayarāja*, so frequent later, is here mentioned for the first time. Apparently the owner of it was entrusted with the administration of the province Malaya, the central mountain country. I regard the province called *desa Puratthima* as the one otherwise called *Pācīnadesa* "Eastern Province". *Dakkhipadesa* as H. W. CODRINGTON (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century, JRAS. C. B. XXIX, Nr. 75, 1922, p. 62 ff) rightly saw, is not a general term for the south of the island (Rohaṇa) but a special province, the territory in the west of the mountains up to the sea. The two provinces get their names from their position in relation to Anurādhā-

of good looks he took to live with himself for he was particularly fond of him.

In the twelfth year (of his reign) a young merchant who had betaken himself from here to Kāśipura¹ brought hither from there the (book) *Dhammadhātu*². The King as incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood as the moth which flies to the lamp it takes for gold, when he saw it, believing it to be the true doctrine of the Buddha received it with ceremony. He showed it reverence and honour and placed it in a house not far from the royal palace. Every year he was wont to take it over to the Jetavana-vihāra and there to arrange a festival which he made into a permanent institution³, regarding this as a blessing for all beings. After Silākāla had thus performed numerous meritorious deeds he passed away on reaching the thirteenth year of his reign, according to his deeds.

After Dāṭhāpabhūti had seized the throne the deluded one had his brother (Upatissa) murdered, because he sought to hinder him, it not being his turn. When Moggallāna heard that, he spake full of fierce wrath: "He hath usurped the government though he had no right to it, without cause he

puṇa. It is worthy of note here that Dakkhinadesa is not yet, as regularly later, the province of the heir to the Throne, but is handed over to the second son, being apparently united with Malaya. Or does Silākāla wish for some reason or other that Dāṭhāpabhūti and not Moggallāna should be his successor?

¹ The town (in the land) of the Kāśis, that is Bārāṇasī i. e. Benares.

² According to the wording of the Pāli text, one is inclined to assume that *dhammadhātu* is meant for some relic of the Buddha, perhaps his *dhammakaraka*, his water vessel, and that this relic turned out to be a fake. The *Nikāya-saṃgraha* however, which treats the subject in greater detail (p. 16²¹—17⁶), says distinctly that it is a book containing the heretical doctrines of the Vaitulya School (see note to 42. 35). The King was not able to distinguish these teachings from the true Buddha doctrine. We must therefore assume that *Dhammadhātu* was the title of the book. The Nik.-s. gives the name of the merchant's son (*ve-laṇḍaputrayā*) who brought the book as Puṇṇa.

³ P. *kāresi cārittaṃ*; the infin. *kātuṃ* governs the acc. *mahaṃ*.

44 hath slain my youngest brother who spake the truth. I will
 see that he has a merry reign¹." He took a strong army
 45 and advanced to the Rahera mountain. When the King heard
 it, he erected an armed camp with troops ready for battle on
 46 the Karinda mountain. Hearing of this Moggallāna sent the
 King this message: "The people living on the Island have
 never failed in their duty to thee or me and if one (of us) is
 47 dead, the government need not be divided between us². Others
 shall not fight therefore, we two alone will fight a combat
 48 here on elephants". The other declared that he was willing
 and armed with the five weapons³, he mounted his elephant
 and prepared at once⁴ for battle, like Māra⁵ against the Sage
 49 (Buddha). Moggallāna also mounted his favourite elephant
 and took his place. The huge elephants rammed each other.
 50 A crash was heard at their onslaught like the roar of thunder
 and sparks like lightning flew at the striking of their tusks.
 51 The blood-stained elephants were as evening clouds. Wounded
 by Moggallāna's elephant the King's elephant began to give
 52 way. When the King saw that he made as if to cut his
 throat. But Moggallāna greeting him with reverence, besought
 53 him: "Forbear to do that!" Despite the request, he persisted
 in his defiance and cut his neck. Thus after six months and
 (six) days⁶ he lost the kingdom.

¹ P. *kārāpessāmi majjarajjam*, lit. "I shall see that his reign is an intoxicating draught". That means either a reign the pleasure of which is as short as that of an intoxicating drink, or in scorn a reign that will make as merry as an intoxicating drink.

² This seems to me the sense of this not quite easy passage: the people who are loyal to us both are then not obliged to choose between us.

³ According to CLOUGH, Sinhalese Dictionary, s. v. the weapons were: sword, spear, bow, battle-axe and shield.

⁴ P. *otthari* "descended (into the arena, to the place of combat)".

⁵ Māra, the tempter, who with his army of demons fights against Buddha in the night of enlightenment and is routed by him, is a favourite subject for artistic representation. Thus at Borobudur, relief nr. 94 (l. gallery, main wall, upper row). Cf. N. J. KROM, the Life of Buddha on the Stūpa of Barabudur, p. 102 ff.

⁶ According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he reigned six months.

Hereupon the mighty Moggallāna became king on the 54 Island. On account of his mother's brother¹ they called him Cūla(moggallāna). He had poetic gifts without equal, as 55 highest (good) he held the three (sacred) objects², He was an abode of virtues like generosity, self-control, purity, goodness. By largess, friendly speech, by working for the good (of others) 56 and by his natural feelings for others³, he won over the mass of his subjects. By almsgiving and the (founding of) vihāras, 57 by (gifts of) medicine and garments he won the community of the bhikkhus and by just protection. While distinguishing 58 the preachers of the doctrine by abundant gifts of honour, he had the three Piṭakas together with the Aṭṭhakathā⁴ recited. Boys he lured with sweetmeats which delighted them and had 59 them constantly instructed in the good doctrine, he, the sage who was a shining light of the good doctrine. He also com- 60 posed a poem in praise of the good doctrine which he, the best of men, from the height of his elephant⁵, recited at the close of the sermon, in the town. He dammed up the Ka- 61 damba river⁶ among the mountains forming thereby the Pattapāsāṇavāpi, Dhanavāpi and Garitara tanks. With the 62 thought: this is a work that ensures long life, he, full of zeal, had the sacred texts written down and a solemn festival held for the (three sacred) objects. While full of pity for the world 63 as a mother for the son of her womb, he died, having given and enjoyed according to desire, in the twentieth year (of his reign)⁷.

¹ P. *ayyakam* = Moggallāna I. who was his *mātula*, since according to 39. 55, his father Silākāla had married Moggallāna's I. sister.

² The *vatthuttaya* are the Buddha, his doctrine (*dhamma*) and his Order (*saṃgha*).

³ P. *saṃānattassabhāvena*. By this the *cattāri saṃgahavatthūni* are meant. See note to 37. 108.

⁴ That is the sacred texts together with the commentaries.

⁵ P. *kuṇḍjarasekhare nisā*. Here *nisā* stands for *nissā* metri causa and the latter for *nissāya* as expressing a local relation.

⁶ The river flowing past the east side of Anurādhapura, now called Malvatu-oya.

⁷ Pūjāv. and Rājāv.. 20 years. In both works and in the Rājaraṭn. the king is called Daḷa-Mogalan. See below note to 44. 63.

64 His Mahesī had killed his kindred with poison. She then
 made her son king and carried on the government herself.
 65 Lord of men Kittisirimegha thus made king, at once had
 the house of the Monarch of trees¹ covered with tin plates.
 66 For the poor, for travellers and beggars he instituted a great
 almsgiving. As protector of the road in such manner he could
 67 be useful to all². But in all enterprises the Mahesī took the
 lead, thus everything in his kingdom was turned upside down.
 68 The royal officials and the high dignitaries thought only of
 bribery, and the powerful in the land terrorized the weak.
 69 At the time of Silākāla there lived in a village called
 Saṅgilla, a man called Bhayasīva, a scion of the Moriya clan.
 70 Śiva had a son by name Aggabodhi and also a sister's son
 71 known by the name of Mahānāga. His sister's son was of
 tall stature, Aggabodhi was handsome³. On account of his
 72 high-soaring plans, the vigorous Mahānāga gave up field la-
 bour and led a robber's life in the forest. Once when he
 73 caught an iguana⁴ he sent it to his aunt⁵. When she saw

¹ The Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra.

² The conjectural *maggamālo* "road-hall" (perhaps = rest-house) of the Col. Ed. for *pālo* is without doubt tempting. According to it W. translates as follows: "Yes, he was like unto a public hall of charity wherein all men were able to partake freely of according to their necessities" I have however, scruples about taking such liberties with the MS. reading, more especially as it gives tolerable sense. In the foregoing travellers and wandering beggars have been mentioned. Here the compiler of our chronicle adds the remark: the king would have been a signpost and a guide to all these (*sabbopabhogīyo*, lit. = one who must or can be enjoyed by all), had not the queen prevented him. She interfered everywhere and thereby brought the kingdom to chaos.

³ An alteration of the text is certainly necessary if the MSS. have *bhāṇineyyo mahānāgo aggabodhi ca sundaro*. The writer of S. 6 has felt that, when he has changed *sundaro* into *-rā*. But it seems to me that in this verse a contrast, not a resemblance, between the two cousins has to be emphasized, to make the future conduct of Mahānāga intelligible. I should incline therefore, to read *mahākāyo* instead of *Mahānāgo*, and refer the reader to the critical note in my edition.

⁴ P *godhā*, Sinh. *goyā*. Two species are distinguished: *talagoyā* "land-iguana" (*Varanus dracaena*) and *kabaragoyā* "speckled iguana" (*Hydrosaurus salvator*). The flesh of iguanas is eaten.

⁵ P. *mātulānī*, the wife of the mother's brother, hence the wife of Bhayasīva.

the iguana she understood (what he wanted) and ordered to send him a basket of corn¹. He also sent to the blacksmith a hare and he did the same (as the aunt). From his sister² 74 he begged seed corn and a bringer of the seed corn³; she handed him over a slave and provided him secretly with food and drink.

Now during a famine a certain man, skilled in magic spells, 75 in order to get alms, was wont to beg food from everybody clad in the robe of a bhikkhu. He had betaken himself to 76 the village (of Saṅgilla) but as he got no food, overcome with hunger, he sat down trembling. When the merciful 77 Mahānāga saw him, he had pity on him, took the alms-bowl, but although he traversed the village in all directions, he got 78 not even rice soup. But when he gave up his upper-garment, he got food. The other ate, was content and thought: I will 79 make him worthy of the kingdom on the Island. He took him with him and came in a moment to the Gokaṇṇa⁴ sea. Sea- 80 ting himself there and murmuring in the usual way the formula of incantation, he conjured up the Nāga King in the 81 night of the full moon of the month Phussa⁵. "Touch the great Nāga⁶", he commanded Mahānāga. In the first watch

¹ P. *pasamsay* must not be corrected. The root *sams* is intimately connected with *sās*, just as in Skr. *śams* and *śās* merge in each other; *pasams* means here "to determine, to direct". The aunt understands that by sending the iguana her nephew wishes to indicate that while he has the flesh of game in abundance, he lacks bread.

² The son of this sister is (42. 1) the future king Aggabodhi I.

³ P. *bijagāha*, purposely formed like *asugāha*, *chattagāha*.

⁴ *Gokaṇṇa(ka)* is also 57. 5 the theatre of a similar scene of magic as the one here described. In 71. 18 it is the farthest spot down the Mahaveliganga ("from Sarogāmatittha as far as Gokaṇṇa"), which must be protected from the enemy in Rohaṇa. As in our passage it is described as *mahaṇṇava* "ocean", it can be no other than the mouth of the Mahaveliganga, the Koddīyar Bay, the Bay of Trincomalee.

⁵ December to January.

⁶ The Nāgas are semi-divine beings in the form of snakes. They are always held to be zealous worshippers of the Buddha and of his teaching. They are represented in human form with a snake's head growing from between the shoulder blades over the head.

of the night, through fear, he did not touch the Nāga who
 82 had appeared. It was even so in the middle watch of the
 night. But in the last watch he caught him by the tail and
 (immediately) let go of him. (Only) with three fingers had
 83 he touched him¹. When the magician saw that he foretold:
 "My effort succeeds: After thou hast had war with three kings
 84 and slain the fourth, thou shalt be king in thy old age and
 live yet three years; and three people out of thy clan will be
 85 kings (after thee). Go thither, serve the King; later thou
 shalt witness my power." With these words he sent him forth.
 86 Mahānāga went, sought the monarch² and entered his service.
 The King made him collector of revenue in Rohaṇa and he
 87 collected many goods which were produced there. The King
 was pleased with him and gave him the rank of an andhasenā-
 pati³ and commanded him to betake himself thither (to Rohaṇa)
 88 again. He took the son of Bhayasīva and his sister's son⁴
 with him, went thither and raised rebellion in the whole pro-
 89 vince. He made of Rohaṇa a territory whose products fell
 exclusively to himself and took up his abode there⁵. In order
 to wage war with Dāṭhāpabhuti he advanced with a great
 90 array of forces, but from fear of Moggallāna⁶, he returned to

¹ W. translates: "he raised it by the tail with three of his fingers and dropped it", but *khup* does not mean "to raise" nor *chup* "to drop". In my edition the punctuation of the text is also wrong. One must place the semi-colon after *khīpi* and take *tīh' evaṃ angulīhi sa taṃ chup* as a connected sentence.

² The event takes place, as is apparent from v. 69 and from what follows, in the time of King Silākāla.

³ This title only occurs here. See Introd. III.

⁴ The former was called Aggabodhi (41. 70). By *bhāgineyya* we have probably to understand the nephew of Mahānāga who according to v. 93 died prematurely.

⁵ The present part. *vasaṃ* is used here instead of a finite verb to express a permanent state.

⁶ Before it came to a fight, the reign of Dāṭhāpabhuti had come to an end, after lasting six months.

Rohaṇa. While he dwelt there he heard of the confusion¹ in King Kittsirimegha's kingdom. Mahānāga thought it was 91 now time to seize the government, set out hastily from Rohaṇa, slew the Ruler on the nineteenth day², took over the 92 government himself and reestablished order. Then he sent a letter to his sister's son bidding him come. The latter coming 93 turned back because of an (unlucky) omen and died. There-upon Mahānāga out of gratitude, made the son of his mother's brother (Aggabodhi) Uparāja³. After building an irrigation 94 trench round the Monarch of trees he had a roof put over its golden house and set up images of the King of Sages. He 95 decorated the three great cetiyas with stucco work and (put up) a protecting ring (against lightning). He also repaired the elephant terrace and the paintings⁴. The weavers' village 96 Jambelambaya⁵ he affiliated to the Uttara-vihāra⁶ and the village called Tintipika to the Mahāvihāra. The village of 97 Vasabha in Uddhagāma he granted to the Jetavana, he also instituted a giving of garments for the three fraternities⁷. After granting three hundred fields to the Jeta(vana)- 98 vihāra he instituted there a permanent (gift of) rice soup for

¹ P. *asamañjasa*, lit "uneven road" a figurative expression for the idea of disorder and confusion.

² Pūjāv., Rājāv., Nik.-s., Rājaratn. call the king Kuḍākītsirimevan to distinguish him from Sirimeghavanna, the first prince of the Cūlavamsa line. The two first chronicles attribute to him a reign of 19 years.

³ For the Uparāja, the co-regent of the reigning king and his relation to the Yuvarāja, the heir-apparent, see Introduction II.

⁴ Cf. for the works mentioned here 38. 10 and 74 with the notes. The stucco work is of course the masonry of the thūpa; *cumbaṭa* is short for *vajracumbaṭa*; *hatthivedi* is the same as *hatthipākāra*.

⁵ Or "the weavers' village called Jambela" according to the reading *jambelachayaṃ* preferred by S. and B.

⁶ P. *Uttare*. This doubtless stands here for *Abhayuttare*, is therefore the Abhayagiri-vihāra. Cf. note to 37. 97.

⁷ The *tayo nikāyā* are the communities of the Mahā-, Jetavana- and Abhayagiri-vihāras. But in a Sinhalese work, quoted by Wickremasinghe, EZ. II. 275, note 1, it is pointed out that they are the three sects of the Dhammarucis, Sāgalikas, and Vetullas. Sometimes, as 46. 15 f "two fraternities" are mentioned along with the three.

99 the bhikkhus. He handed over to the Ascetics¹ a thousand fields (watered by the tank) called Dūratissa. For the inmates of the Mahāvihāra he instituted a permanent (dole of) rice
 00 soup. The Cīramātikavāra (canal) he granted thither, rejoicing at virtuous dealing. In the Mayūra-pariveṇa² he undertook
 01 renovations and in the Mahādevarattakurava-vihāra in (the district of) Kāsikhaṇḍa he restored the dilapidated Anurārāma.
 02 After he had performed in this and in other ways works which lead to Heaven he joined after three years³ the company of the gods.

03 These eight kings who were all contented in spirit⁴, whose wealth was endless as that of the King of Kings⁵, who gloried in their troops, their elephants, their chargers and in the chariots of their heroic army⁶, they had finally to surrender all and forsaken by their followers, mount the pyre. The wise

¹ I do not think that we can connect *tapassīnaṃ* directly with *Mahāvihāravāsīnaṃ*. The former belongs to the first, the latter to the second half of the verse. The ascetics do not live in the vihāra but in the *arañña*. Probably the ascetics of the Tapovana 52. 22, 53. 14, 54. 20 are meant, the settlement in the wilderness west of Anurādhapura, recently more accurately investigated by ARRTON and HOCART. See Memoirs Archaeol. Survey Ceylon I. 1924, p. 18 ff.

² See 37. 172 and 38. 52 with the notes.

³ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. call the prince Senevi or Senevi-Mānā. The duration of his reign is given as 3 years. In Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. he is also called Senevi. After him all four chronicles insert a king whose name is missing in the Cūlavamsa. Pūjāv.: Lāmāṇi-Siṅgān-Saladaḷabōnā (9 years), Rājāv.: Lāmāṇi-Simpha-Saladaḷabōnā (9 years), Rājaratn. and Nik.-s.: Lāmāṇi-Siṅgānāya.

⁴ Because they had attained the highest human goal, the dignity of kingship.

⁵ The word *rājarāja* denotes also in Skr. Kuvera, the god of wealth.

⁶ The two first lines of the strophe offend repeatedly against the law of style. They can only be translated according to their sense. *Rājarājena rūpā* and *navakarituragā sūrasenārathēhi* are disintegrated compounds. They stand instead of *rājarājarūpā* (**rūpa* = "like", as in *bhagavantarūpa*, D. I. 51²⁸) and *navākarituragasūrasenārathēhi*.

man when he remembers this should, if he seeks his salvation, harbour the wish to fling away from him the happiness of existence.

Here ends the forty-first chapter, called 'The Nine Kings'¹ in the Mahāvam̐sa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The MSS. have it is true, *atṭharājakō* "the eight kings". Cf. the note to the signature of the following pariccheda.

CHAPTER XLII

THE TWO KINGS

1 Aggabodhi the highly favoured of fortune, sister's son
 of King Mahānāga¹, now became king whose aspiration was
 2 the attainment of the highest enlightenment. In splendour
 imitating the sun, in charm the moon with full disk, in stead-
 3 fastness the Sumeru mountain², in depth the ocean, in firm-
 ness the earth, in impartiality³ the wind, in insight the ma-
 4 gician among the gods⁴, in purity the autumn heavens, in the
 enjoyment of wishes fulfilled the King of the gods, in wealth

¹ Here S. and B., and W. obviously dependent on their rendering, translate *ibbīti Mahānāga-naramiñduhu mayilpit*, W: "the son of Mahānāga's mother's brother." In itself that would be quite simple. Aggabodhi would then be the son of Bhayasīva mentioned 41. 70 whom Mahānāga according to 41. 93, appointed uparāja. But there is one difficulty about the matter. It absolutely contradicts the text. Aggabodhi is here perfectly plainly described as *bhāgmeyya* of Mahānāga. The Pūjāv. also calls him *Mānāraja-banā* and likewise the Rājāv. We must stick to this if we wish to keep firm ground under our feet. We must thus assume that the Cūlavamsa says nothing about the after fate of Bhayasīva's son, just as it is so often silent where we should like to hear more, and that the Aggabodhi named in 42. 1 has nothing but the name in common with him. STILL's genealogical tree (in his very valuable Index to the Mahawansa) which rests on the translations, needs correction accordingly.

² Sumeru is the same as Meru or Hemameru. Cf. 37. 79 with note.

³ P. *samavutti* refers to the impartial demeanour towards others, none being favoured, none being disadvantaged, as the wind blows equally for all beings without distinction. It is interesting to find quite similar phrases as those in v. 2 and 3 in an inscription of Mahinda IV. (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 225).

⁴ That is Br̥haspati.

the commander of treasures¹, in justice the upright Vāsetṭha², in courage the king of beasts, in royal virtues a ruler of the 5 world, in generosity a Vessantara³, it was thus his people knew him. On his mother's brother he conferred the dignity 6 of uparāja, on his brother that of yuvarāja, on his sister's son that of king of Malaya⁴. To the most distinguished officials 7 also he gave positions according to their merits. He won over his subjects by the heartwinning qualities and by the royal virtues⁵. The province of Dakkhinadesa with the appropriate 8 retinue⁶ he made over to the Yuvarāja. The latter while he dwelt there, built the Sirivaḍḍhamāna tank. After the wise 9 (prince) had erected the Giri-vihāra intended for the community (of the bhikkhus) he granted it two hundred fields for the support of the community. To the Malayarāja he gave 10 his daughter Dāṭhā by name (to wife); he also built the pariveṇa which bears the name Sirisaṃghabodhi. For Mahāsiva 11 he built a pariveṇa⁷ which was called after him. His companions also were chiefly intent on meritorious works. Thus 12 by a pious mode of life⁸ he followed the good old custom

¹ The term *amaramantar* applied to Brhaspati here bears out his close association with the Atharvaveda given him in the Indian epics. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 181. — The King of the Gods is Indra, the Lord of treasure Kuvera.

² A ṛṣi, a primeval sage (Skr. *Vasiṣṭha*).

³ Vessantara was the last human incarnation of the Buddha. His history is told in the Jātaka bearing his name (Nr. 547) FAUSBÖLL's edition, VI. p. 479 ff.

⁴ Cf. for these titles the notes to 41. 33-35.

⁵ See notes to 37. 107 and 108.

⁶ P. *sayoggam*, the adj. *yogga* is made into a substantive by supplementing it with a nominal term like "accessories, equipment, retinue". *Sayoggabalavāhana* in 44. 84 is used in the same connection. Here for the first time we have the Southern Province, the *dakkhinadesa* as territory reserved for the heir to the throne, as is thenceforward the rule. Cf. also the note to 41. 35.

⁷ Note to 37. 63.

⁸ P. *sādhūpacārena*. W. translates this: "by continually keeping the company of good men", which is also possible.

and to remove hindrances, he restored¹ it where it had fallen
 13 into decay. During his reign poets wrote numerous poems
 in the Sihala tongue which were distinguished by various
 14 useful doctrines². In the Dakkhinā-vihāra³ he erected a splen-
 did pāsāda⁴ and in the course of nine years he cleared the
 15 island of all briars⁵. After building the vihāra called Ku-
 runda destined for the whole Order (of bhikkhus) and a tank of
 the same name⁶ and (after planting) a cocopal garden three yo-

¹ Refers directly to "the good old custom": (*porāṇam dhammiyaṃ vidhiṃ*) which is figuratively likened to a building that has fallen into decay and must be restored. The "hindrances" are things, actions, circumstances which obstruct the path to deliverance.

² So I translate *naya* which is chiefly used of prudent policy. The names of the twelve poets said to have flourished under Aggabodhi I. are enumerated in the Pūjāv., the Rājāv., and the Nik.-s.

Pūjāv: 1. Dāhāmi	Rājāv: Dahanet	Nik.-s.: Dāmīya
2. Temal	Pusu	Suriyabāhuya
3. Bābiri	Bāri	Bābiriya
4. Bisodaḷa	Miyo	Daḷabisōya
5. Anurūt	Kuma	Anurutkumaruya
6. Daḷagot	Dalagot	Daḷagotkumaruya
7. Puravaḍu	Puravā	Puravaḍukumaruya
8. Daḷasalakumarū	Dasalā	Daḷasalakumaruya
9. Kitsiri	Kitsiri	Kitsirikumaruya
10. Kasub	Kāsubu	Kasupkotaāpāya
11. Koṭa	Koṭa	Sakdāmalaya (? = 2)
12. Āpā	Āpaya	Asakdāmalaya

In addition it is stated in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv. that the Thera Dhammakitti (sinh. Dāmi, Dāhāmikit) held office under King Aggabodhi.

³ That is: the "Southern Monastery". According to Mhvs. 33. 88 its builder was Uttiya, one of the warriors of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. It lay *nagaramhā dakkhiṇato*. In the latest plan of Anurādhapura the Dakkhinā-vihāra is identified with the cetiya known in local tradition as "Ejāra's tomb" (Cf. Mhvs. 25. 72-73). As regards this monument, I should prefer keeping to the local tradition. The Dakkhinā-vihāra has thus still to be identified.

⁴ See note to 37. 59.

⁵ Said figuratively; *kaṇṭaka* "thorn" is used of all enemies of the throne and the church, of all pests of the organism of the State.

⁶ The building of the Kurunda tank is also narrated in Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājaratn. H. W. Codrington (H. C., p. 35) identifies it with the Giant's tank near Mannar.

janas in length, he granted it to Mahāsiva as his dwelling¹ 16 and in addition to it revenues, honours and distinctions and a hundred monastery attendants². Near to it he built the 17 Ambilapassava-vihāra and granted the village of this name to the Ascetics of the Thera School³. To the Unnavalli-vihāra 18 he granted the far-famed village of Ratana⁴ and placed (in the vihāra) a stone image of the Master. In Kelivāta he built 19 the (vihāra) called Sumanapabbata and beside the Bodhi temple a stone terrace with a large oil pit⁵. After he had restored 20 the Lohapāsāda, he distributed at the dedication festival of the pāsāda to six and thirty thousand bhikkhus the three garments⁶. He assigned to it a village and ordered that it should 21 be guarded. In the Hatthikucchi-vihāra⁷ the enlightened (prince) likewise erected a pāsāda which bore the name of his daughter. He kept piously to the instruction of the bhikkhu 22 Dāṭhāsiva and living according to the law, he looked after him heedfully⁸. Further he built the great vihāra Mūgasenā- 23

¹ The Col. Ed. differs greatly here from the MSS. It reads *ma-hāsīmadvayañceva sassam kāravitum adā*, but it is just the first syllables *mahāsiva* which are well preserved in all the MSS. It seems to me very doubtful for the rest, that *mahāsīmadvayaṃ* should mean "two large tracts of defined land" as translated by W. For *sīmā* I know only the meaning "boundary", but not "defined territory".

² See note to 37. 63.

³ See notes to 41. 99 and 37. 227.

⁴ Is Ratanagāma not the present Ratnapura? The epithet *diḡha-vañṇita* would then point to its having been famous then as a mine of precious stones. Here attention may also be called to the district Ratanākara-raṭṭha (69. 31) which lies in the Southern Province.

⁵ The Bodhi temple in the Mahāvihāra is meant here (note to 38. 43). The "oil pit" was probably a cup-like hollow intended for the reception of the oil presented for festive illumination.

⁶ See note to 41. 29.

⁷ Is also mentioned 48. 65 in the reign of Aggabodhi VI and 49. 76 in that of Dappula II.

⁸ Apparently Dāṭhāsiva took a post at court corresponding to that of the *purohita* in the Indian courts. This is the beginning of the political influence of the bhikkhus Cf. 57. 38 f. and note.

pati and assigned it¹ the village Lajjika for the (necessary)
 24 maintenance of the slaves. For the merit of King Mahānāga
 King Aggabodhi built a (vihāra) called by his name² and as-
 signed it to the Grand Thera who was versed in the three
 25 Piṭakas³. But he who no longer possessed wishes, handed
 over the vihāra to sixty-four bhikkhus of his kind who practis-
 26 ed yoga⁴. After building the Bhinnorudīpa(-vihāra) for the
 same (thera) who dwelt in the Mahāpariveṇa⁵, and granting⁶
 27 it (revenues) from Vattākārapitṭhi, he erected halls for the
 Uposatha festival⁷ in the vihāra called Dakkhināgiridaḷha, in
 28 Mahānāgapabbata and in the Kālavāpi-vihāra. In the Abhaya
 (giri)-vihāra he constructed a large bathing tank and on the
 Cetiya-pabbata he provided a permanent water supply for the
 29 Nāgaṣoṇḍi tank⁸. After having the Mahindataṭa tank⁹ con-
 structed in the proper way, he decided to set up (the image

¹ The reading *ekassa* which W. accepts, is certainly wrong. It can only be a question of a foundation for the benefit of the vihāra mentioned in the first half of the verse and which is alluded to by *etassa*.

² *Vihāraṃ* must be inserted from v. 23. We might translate "he gave it (i. e. the Mūgasenāpati-vihāra) the name Mahānāga-vihāra". The building of this vihāra by Aggabodhi (*Mānārādapiriveṇa*) is also mentioned in Pūjāv. and Rājaratn.

³ See note to 37. 223. Who the Grand Thera was is not said, probably Dāṭhāsiva.

⁴ I. e. who gave themselves to ascetic and meditative practices. H. Beckh, *Buddhismus* II, 9 ff., was the first to show the significance of Yoga in Buddhism in its true light.

⁵ According to 50. 67 a building in the Jetavana-vihāra. Mentioned again 48. 65.

⁶ The translation is not quite certain on account of the brevity of the original. W. has however, disregarded the gerund *katvā* in his rendering.

⁷ See note to 37. 201.

⁸ I think what is meant here is the bathing tank now called Nāgapokuna, situated just under the summit of the Mihintale mountain (see 38. 75 note) where hewn in the rock face the heads of a cobra (*nāga*) seem to rise out of the water. Not "Elephant's Pool" as W. translates. See Mhvs. transl. p. 94, note 1.

⁹ The tank at the foot of the Missaka mountain by which the present fields of the village Mihintale are irrigated.

of) the Thera (Mahinda) on its dike and he decreed that when 30
the Grand Thera Mahinda should be brought to the place,
people from the Taraccha¹ clan should carry him. He plac- 31
ed a golden umbrella² on the (thūpas of the) three fra-
ternities, seven- eight- and nine-fold³ and (set) with pre-
cious stones. He presented the Mahāthūpa with a golden 32
umbrella weighing four and twenty bhāras⁴ and here and there
(he offered) a superb jewel of great value. Having decorated 33
the temple of the Tooth Relic with brightly gleaming precious
stones he made a golden reliquary (for the relic) and in the
Pāli Hall a canoe of bronze⁵. He built the Mahāmekhala 34
bund and conducted a great canal from the Maṇihīra tank⁶.

At that time a Grand Thera called Jotipāla had beaten in 35
controversy the adherents of the Vetulla School⁷ on the Is-
land. The Ādipāda called Dāṭhāpabhuti, ashamed (at the 36
defeat), raised his hand to strike him (the thera). At the self-
same moment an ulcer appeared (on his hand). But the King 37
who was pleased with Jotipāla, assigned him a dwelling in
that very vihāra⁸. In his pride Dāṭhāpabhuti went not to

¹ P. *taracchā*. See note to 38. 13. W. is not at all clear about this passage. The Taracchā are already mentioned Mhvs. 19. 2 along with the Kulingā.

² See note to 38. 54, as also to 41. 97.

³ Has reference to the single storeys of the chatta which apparently differed in the three thūpas (Mahāthūpa, Jetavana and Abhayagiri) in the way indicated.

⁴ A *bhāra* (= 20 *Tulā* = 2000 *Pala*) is according to BR. (Sanskrit Wtb. s. v.), equal to about 140 lbs. That would give a total weight of 33 to 34 cwt. According to the Sinhalese weight (1 *pala* = 4 *karṣa* = a little more than 72. 5 gr.) we should get double that quantity. The umbrella was of course of stone and gilded.

⁵ See note to 37. 181.

⁶ Now Minneri-veva, N.W. of Polonnaruva.

⁷ The Mahāvamsa regards the Vetulla School as a heretical sect. They were the representatives of the Mahāyāna in Ceylon and are first mentioned Mhvs. 36. 41 in the reign of Vohāraka-Tissa (2nd half of the 3rd c. A. D.). They had their seat in the Abhayagiri-vihāra according to Mhvs. 36. 111. Cf. Mhvs. trsl., p. 259. n. 2.

⁸ Presumably in the vihāra where the controversy had taken place. (Abhayagiri?)

38 him¹ and so died. The King conferred the dignity of ma-
hādīpāda² on his sister's son Aggabodhi and charged him to
39 take the Thera under his protection, which he did. After
building the Nilageha cell³ the King gave it to that same
Thera. Thus he wrought many meritorious works and died
in the thirty-fourth year (of his reign)⁴.

40 Hereupon Aggabodhi became king. As the former king
was the elder he was distinguished by the name Khudda⁵.
41 Versed in the former customs he protected the Island and he
made Samghabhaddā the daughter of his mother's brother
42 mahesī⁶. As sword-bearer he appointed a kinsman of the
Mahesī. He distributed posts according to worth, without
43 preference⁷. The Veḷuvana(-vihāra) which the king had built he
made over to the adherents of the Sāgali School⁸. He also built
the Jamburantaragalla(-vihāra) and the Mātikapiṭṭhi(-vihāra).

44 During the reign of this (king) the prince of the Kālinga
country whose mind was disturbed when he saw the death of
45 living beings in war, came hither to our Island with the re-
solve of world renunciation⁹. He underwent the ceremony of
world renunciation under Jotipāla and the King maintained
46 him honourably for a long time. He built him a prac-

¹ He was too proud to go to Jotipāla and ask his forgiveness.

² The title mahādīpāda is usually borne by the heir to the throne.

³ What a *pariccheda* was in a monastic establishment is difficult to say.
I suppose it to have been single cells for the inmates. Cf. 48. 2, 50. 77.

⁴ Pūjāv: 34 years, Rājāv: 30 years.

⁵ I. e. the little, the younger. In the Sinhalese sources he is also
called *Kuḍa-Akkō*.

⁶ See note to 37. 211.

⁷ W.'s translation of *anālayo* by "as he envied not to give power
into the hands of others" is certainly not right. *Alaya* means "wish,
affection". What is meant is merely that the king was not influenced
by personal wishes but by objective considerations. Cf. also 46. 4.

⁸ See note to 39. 41. The Sāgaliyā had their seat in Jetavana, as
the Dhammarucikā in Abhayagiri (A. M. Hocart, *Memoirs ASC. I*,
p. 15 ff.). For the Veḷuvana-vihāra see note to 44. 29.

⁹ It seems that he was driven from his country by Pulakesin I., the
founder of the Chalukya dynasty who conquered the Kālinga kingdom.
According to JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL this took place 609 A.D. See H. W.
CODRINGTON, H. C., p. 35, 51.

tising-house¹ in the Mattapabbata-vihāra. The Kālinga prince's minister and his Maheśi betook themselves to the same (Jotipāla) and under him they (likewise) underwent the ceremony of world renunciation. When the Maheśi of the King 47 (Aggabodhi) heard of her splendid renunciation of the world, she supported her honourably and had the Ratana(-vihāra) built (for her). To the minister the King granted the Vetta- 48 vāsa-vihāra in Pācīnakandārājī², but the ascetic handed it over to the community³. The royal Thera died; the King (Agga- 49 bodhi) mourned for him and wept for him and after that built a practising-house in the Cūlagalla-vihāra⁴ as well as one in the Palamṇagara-vihāra⁵. Thus in his place and for 50 him⁶ the ruler performed many meritorious works.

Once while the Thera Jotipāla was performing his devo- 51 tions in front of the cetiya in the Thūpārāma a piece of (masonry) got loosened and fell in front of him. The troubled 52 Thera called the King and showed it to him. When the King saw it he was horrified and had the work at once taken in hand. He housed the Relic of the Right Collar-bone⁷, care- 53 fully guarded, in an inner room of the Lohapāsāda and honoured it day and night. As the repairs in the Thūpārāma 54 were delayed, the devatās⁸ dwelling there appeared to the

¹ See notes to 37. 232.

² The name occurs in what is probably the right form Pācīnakandārājī also in Mhvs. 23. 4. I believe it to be the name of a village near the Citta mountain.

³ I. e. he refused personal possession and handed over the vihāra to the community of the bhikkhus.

⁴ Mentioned also Mhvs. 35. 13. The vihāra was built by Cūlābhaya at the end of the 1st c. A. D. on the bank of the Goṇanadī (Kalaoya), south of Anurādhapura.

⁵ In *Palamṇagara* the -ga means "found in". It is thus not part of the name, as W. supposes.

⁶ This is a *patti*, that is an action whose merits are transferred to another person who has died. The reward for the pious foundations made by Aggabodhi are to fall to the royal thera from Kālinga.

⁷ See above note to 37. 207.

⁸ *Thūpārāma* belongs to *navakamme* as well as to *devatā*. According to popular belief devatās are everywhere, in every field, every tree, every building, even in the single parts of a house.

55 King in a dream as attendants of the monastery. "If the King
hesitates to rebuild the shrine of the relic we shall take the
relic and go where it pleaseth us", said they. At that mo-
56 ment the King awoke and greatly perturbed, he had the work
on the shrine finished in a short time, including the paintings
57 and the like. Further (he had) four images and thrones of
stone, a golden umbrella and work in stone and ivory (made)
58 for the shrine. His dignitaries and others (of high rank) made
nine hundred reliquaries and renewed¹ the whole work of
59 Devānampiyatissa². When with immense pains he had got
together the offering in fitting manner he with the greatest
60 reverence, brought the relic from the Lohapāsāda hither. He
had the relic surrounded by the Grand Thera Jotipāla together
with the community, carried in festive procession³ in a reli-
61 quary. To the relic-shrine he dedicated the island of Laṅkā
together with his own person⁴ and handed over to its guar-
dians the village the proceeds of which had belonged to the
62 Mahesī. In Nāgadīpa (he presented) the Uṇṇalomaghara temple
to the Rājāyatanadhātu(-vihāra), as well as an umbrella for
63 the Āmalacetiya⁵. He granted to the vihāra there a village
for the provision of rice soup. To the Abhaya(giri)-vihāra
64 he granted the village of Aṅgaṇasālaka. Giving it his own
name and that of the Mahesī, he erected in the Abhayuttara⁶
65 the Dāṭhāggabodhi house. The Queen piously built the
Kapālanāga-vihāra and handed it over provided with the four

¹ In v. 57 the v. *kārayi* must be supplemented to the accusatives from v. 56. *Navam kamman* in v. 58 d must have the v. *akāsum* added from 58 a.

² He is the builder of the Thūpārāma-cetiya according to Mhvs. 17. 1 ff., 62.

³ P. *parihārena*. The word has obviously here already the meaning of its Sinhalese equivalent *perahara* "procession".

⁴ See above 39. 31 for a case of similar homage to the Church.

⁵ The verb is missing in the sentence. We must probably supplement it with an *adā* from the foregoing. My interpretation differs greatly from that of W. I take Rājāyatanadhātu for the name of a vihāra. Nāgadīpa means the most northerly part of Ceylon.

⁶ See note to 37. 97.

necessaries, to the same monastery. In the Jetavana the King 66 erected a building with a glittering crowning ornament¹ and near the house of the Bodhi Tree he had a well dug. He also 67 built the Gaṅgātāṭa, Valāhassa and Giritāṭa tanks². He enlarged the Mahāpālī Hall and set up a canoe for the gifts of rice³. For the bhikkhunis the Mahesī ordered permanent gifts of rice⁴. 68 Thus after King Aggabodhi had performed meritorious works, he went to Heaven in the tenth year (of his reign)⁵.

Thus (both) these Lords of men, who rejoiced in meritorious 69 works, who were blessed with riches, fell into the clutches of death. Then should the wise man when he beholds rightly the course of existence, shunning according to precept, all connection with existence, (his face) turned towards Nirvana, live discerningly, surrendering himself to the renunciation of the world.

Here ends the forty-second chapter, called "The Two Kings"⁶, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ There is no reason to change the reading of the MSS. *rājānacumba-ṭaṃ* into *rājatacumbaṭaṃ* as do S. and B. There is nothing strange in the archaic participial form in *-āna* in the eclectic style of the Cūlavamsa.

² Rājāv. and Pūjāv. relate that in all he built 13 tanks. The Ganga-tala, Giritālā, Hovaṭu, Neraḷu, Māṭombu, Siravalāskātiya, Eṇḍeraḷu, Kaḷunnaru, Mahaudalu, Kāngomu, Mādāta and Kalamvāvu are named in the Pūjāv. In addition both chronicles ascribe to him the building of the Velunnā-vehera.

³ P. *bhattachāvaṃ*. Cf. note to 37. 181.

⁴ P. *bhattachāvaṃsaṃ*. The regular recurrence of the gifts is compared with the succession of the generations in a family.

⁵ Rājāv. and Pūjāv. likewise give the duration of the reign as ten years.

⁶ The MSS. have *Tirājako* "the three kings" and having regard to the signature of the foregoing pariccheda, it would have been more consistent to have retained this reading. As in our signature one king more, in the foregoing one less is given than actually occurs in the pariccheda, we may perhaps assume that the difference is traceable to a copy in which the last king of the series of the 41st chapter, Mahānāga, is treated not with his predecessors but with his successors, the two Aggabodhis.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE SIX KINGS

1 Hereupon the Sword-bearer Saṃghatissa¹ became ruler.
 2 With the wish to further religion as well as the kingdom he
 3 rejoiced in righteous action. Bestowing office according to
 4 merit, he won his subjects for himself. But when the general
 5 of the younger king (Aggabodhi), Moggallāna, who dwelt in
 6 Rohaṇa, learnt that Saṃghatissa had become king, in order
 to begin war he occupied a fortified camp in Mahāgalla².
 When Saṃghatissa heard this he sent troops to fight him,
 but the mighty Moggallāna routed them. Thereupon he be-
 took himself with elephants and horses to Rattivihāra, collec-
 ted his troops there and took up a position. At news of this
 the King returned, gave him battle at Kadalīnivāta³ and

¹ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. describe him as younger brother (*maḥ*) of Aggabodhi II. But it seems to be more probable that he is the asiggāha mentioned in 42. 42 as a kinsman of Aggabodhi's II. mahesī.

² Mahāgalla is mentioned in three places. According to 58. 42—43 (q. v.) it was situated in Dakkhinadesa. The sequence Tilagulla, Mahāgalla, Maṇḍagalla, Anurādhapura, Mahātitttha in a successful campaign of Vijayabāhu I. allows of our determining the situation. It is evidently the present *Magallegama* N.W. of Kurunegala halfway on the road to Puttalam not far from Nikaveratiya (Census of Ceylon 1921, II. 282-3, nr. 62). So also H. W. Coomaraswamy in a letter dated 19. X. 26. Mahāgallakavāpi is likewise mentioned three times, namely 68. 34 and 43 among the water works built by Parakkamabāhu I. to further cultivation in Dakkhinadesa. The passage 79. 66 is either a repetition of what is related in Chap. 68 or it refers to the restoration of the tank.

³ Not Kadallādi-Nivāta. The *ādi* serves only, as so frequently, for paraphrase "beginning with Kadalī". Cf. Kadalyādinivāta 48. 50; Mahāpānādi-dīpa 44. 122; Sirisaṃghādibodhiko 46. 1.

defeated him. Then he sent his troops (after him), but returned himself to the town. Moggallāna restored his vanquished army¹ to its former state and marched to Rahera². The King's Senāpati sent his son against the rebels, he himself feigned (sickness) as if suffering and distressed like one very sick, he kept his bed. When the King heard of it he at once sought him out and admonished him: "Be not troubled. Only set the Prince³ his tasks here (in Anurādhapura) and protect the city; it is impossible for thee to accompany me to the seat of war as thou art sick". Because all the people had left⁴ the city and the King's food was thereby curtailed, they placed before the King food that had been prepared in the Mahāpāli Hall. When the King saw that, he was much perturbed and thinking: (it must be) before he becomes weaker than (he is⁵) now, he went forth in haste to war. With his son he mounted his elephant at the head of an army in fighting trim and marched with a small force to Pācīnatissapabbata⁶. When both sides⁷ were engaged in battle the treacherous Senāpati opened the attack from behind. When the Ruler's

¹ It is unnecessary to change *savāhanam* into *savāhinim*. *Vāhana* (primarily: baggage-train, camp-followers) is several times used in just this section as "army". Thus vv. 13 and 22.

² The Rahera mountain is already mentioned 41. 44 on the occasion of the battles between Dāṭhāpabbhuti I. and his brother Moggallāna. The Col. Ed. reads, it is true, *Kareheram upāgami*.

³ Jeṭṭhatissa is presumably meant by the "Prince". According to v. 28 he had remained in the town, probably as Regent under the Minister's guidance, while his father was in the field.

⁴ P. *ubbāsīte*, lit. "caused to depart". The people had left the town from fear of the enemy. It does not mean that they were in the field. The loc. *sabbe* is one of the incorrect forms peculiar to the language of the Cūlavamsa. Cf. similarly *sabbe Jambudīpe* 75. 26 and also *Lankātale sabbe* 44. 44.

⁵ The idea is this: The King feels that he cannot do without the advice and help of his Senāpati in the city while he himself is absent. He wants therefore to hasten the decision in the field so that the sick man does not die before it. *Yāra na* means "until — before"; *mando* stands for the comparative and the ablative *etto* belongs to this.

⁶ See note to 41. 14.

⁷ I. e. Saṃghatissa and Moggallāna.

16 son saw that, he said: "I will slay him". But the King restrained him: "Think not of such a thing; our army is unable
 17 to stand this, it is certainly¹ much too weak." The King was in the centre between the two hostile armies, therefore his forces had to be divided against the rebel (Moggallāna) and
 18 the Senāpati. The King's elephant sought the shade of a madhūka tree² whereupon the umbrella fell to the ground
 19 because it knocked against a branch. The rebel's army saw that, took possession of it and handed it over to their commander. He raised the umbrella, standing on the summit of
 20 the mountain. Thereupon the King's troops thinking he was now king, came and surrounded him. But King Samghatissa
 21 was alone. He dismounted from the back of his elephant and fled with his son and a faithful minister³ to the Merumajjara forest near by.

22 The victorious Moggallāna⁴ took the host, the treacherous
 23 Senāpati and his ruthless son, came to the capital and was king as sovereign of the Laṅkā country. Then he thought:
 24 "As long as the foe is in life there is no good luck." When he heard that a son of the former king was here (in Anurādhapura) he was wroth and at once commanded that his hands
 25 and feet be cut off. The man charged by the King, went thither immediately to cut off his hands and feet. The boy
 26 wept in distress: "If my hands which I have for eating cake, are cut off with what shall I then eat the cakes?" When the

¹ P. *hessati*. The future in the sense of a mitigated statement where otherwise the potential is used. The *ti*, as so frequently, is inserted in the oratio recta. Cf. note to 37. 114; further 48. 116; 77. 99.

² *Bassia latifolia*. Skr. *madhūka*, BR. s. v. This is the *mī-gaha* of the Sinhalese which Clough defines as *Bassia longifolia*.

³ The governing verb of *puttaṃ 'maccaṃ ca sohadaṃ* is wanting. Hence the writer of MS. S. 6 recurred the text to *puttaṃ ādiya sohadaṃ*. It seems to me probable that *sohadaṃ* was a gloss to distinguish the *amacca* from the faithless Senāpati and that this gloss displaced an *ādiya* in the text. The gerund *ādiya* which is found already in Mhvs. 1. 74 is found again in v. 22.

⁴ Pūjāv. calls him Lāmāni-Bō-nā-Mugalan, Rājāv. Mādi-Bō-Mugalan, Nik.-s. and Rājaratn. Lāmāni-Bō-nāya.

King's servant heard that he wept and wailed, sorely grieved 27
 at the King's command. Nevertheless he cut off his left hand
 and his left foot, the wretch. Jetthatisa another son of the 28
 King, fled and betook himself unrecognised to Malaya in the
 Merukandara¹ district. Meanwhile the King (Samghatissa) 29
 with his son and his minister had secretly reached Veḷuvana².
 At the instigation of the bhikkhus there he donned the yellow
 robe. He had the intention of betaking himself in the dis- 30
 guise of a bhikkhu to Rohaṇa and got as far as Maṇihira³.
 Here the servants of the King who were there, recognised 31
 the three, put fetters on their feet and told Moggallāna. When
 the King heard that, he rejoiced exceedingly and gave the 32
 command: "Go with all haste, take the three to the secure
 and safe Sihagiri⁴. There cut the King's head off and that 33
 of his son, but bring the minister to me alive". Thus charged, 34
 the people took the three, brought them to Sihagiri and set
 about to do what had been commanded them. Then spake 35
 the King's son to the people who carried out the deed: "Do
 me the boon of cutting my head off first." The King's men 36
 did so, then they struck off the head of King (Samghatissa).
 Behold ye who know well what righteous action is, the action
 of fools! So transitory are (worldly) delights, so uncertain 37
 and unstable: how could ye setting your hearts on these,
 neglect to seek your eternal salvation?

They informed the minister of the King's command, as 38
 they had his good at heart⁵. When he heard that he laughed

¹ See note to 41. 19.

² See above 42. 43. The Veḷuvana-vihāra must hence be looked for somewhere on a line between Anurādhapura and Maṇihira.

³ Now Minneriya-veva, one of the largest and most beautiful tanks in the island, about 10 miles W.N.W. of Polonnaruwa.

⁴ Sigiri lies about 10 miles W.S.W. from the Minneri lake.

⁵ W. refers *hitesino* to *amacassa* "unto the faithful minister". I believe though, that it is a nom. plu. belonging to the subject contained in *āhamsu*. From what follows it seems that Moggallāna's henchmen wished to save the minister's life by offering him the prospect of service with the new King.

39 and spake these words: "While I was still in life I saw my
 master beheaded; shall I alas! serve another master besides
 40 him? After ye have slain him here will ye also take from
 him his shadow? Alas! ignorant are ye, I trow, and deluded."
 41 After he had spoken thus he took hold of his master's feet
 and lay thus there. The henchmen (of Moggallāna) seeing
 42 no means of bringing him away, willy-nilly struck his head
 off too. Then they took the three (heads) and showed them
 to the King. He struck at them and rejoiced, being rid of
 43 his fear. To the treacherous Senāpati he granted the dignity
 of Malayarāja and gave his son the office of sword-bearer.
 44 Moggallāna covered the three thūpas with new material
 and instituted a great thūpa festival¹ throughout the territory
 45 of Laṅkā. With a great offering he celebrated with reverence
 the Hair Relic of the Master, likewise the Tooth Relic and the
 46 great Bodhi Tree. In accordance with ancient custom he held
 the entire Vesākha² festival and the like. By a regulative
 47 act³ he reformed the Order of the Perfected One. With a great
 festival he instituted a recitation of the (three) Piṭakas and
 he honoured the learned priests by giving them specially high
 48 revenues. To all the bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he pre-
 sented a robe and in all their dwellings he had kaṭhina⁴ robes

¹ The covering over of the thūpas with white linen cloths was a token of festive homage. Cf. 52. 67 and 54. 37. The word *sabbe* belongs most likely to *Laṅkātale* (see note to 44. 11) and *thūpe mahussavaṃ* is the same as *thūpassa m°* and takes the place of the compound *thūpamahussavaṃ*.

² The month Vesākha corresponds to April-May. The birthday of the Buddha was celebrated on the day of the full moon of this month.

³ See note to 39. 57.

⁴ By *kaṭhina* we are to understand a gift of clothing to the community carried out in a specially solemn form at the end of the Pavāraṇā festival (see note to 37. 90). It is considered highly meritorious. The term is *atthatakaṭhino* (lit. "outspread raw cotton"), *kaṭhinatthāra*, in our passage *kaṭhinaṃ attharāpati*. The ceremony consists in the uninterrupted making of the garments in the course of a day and a night from raw cotton. The cotton is spun by women, the stuff woven, dyed and finally made up into garments. Cf. Vinaya I. 253 ff. (= Mahāvagga VII. 1 ff.).

made. He made images and repaired what was decayed. He 49
made over to the community more than 300 salt-pans. In 50
Kārapitṭhi he built the Moggallāna-vihāra, further the Piṭṭhi-
gāma-vihāra and Vaṭagāma together with a village (assigned
to it). He also built a cetiya temple in the Rakkha-vihāra¹ 51
and he granted villages to many vihāras for their maintenance.
Thus the Monarch performed countless meritorious works in 52
remembrance of the fleeting nature of the fortunes of the
preceding king.

Now it happened that for some offence or other he became 53
displeased with the Malayarāja². He remembered his shame-
ful conduct towards the former king. He got him into his 54
power by craft and had his hands and feet cut off. When
the Sword-bearer³ heard that he betook himself with his son
to Rohaṇa. Dwelling there he soon brought the land into 55
his power. He sought out Jeṭṭhatissa who kept himself hidden
in Malaya. In league with him he conquered in a short time 56
the province of Janapada. He then betook himself to the
Dohaḷapabbata and took up his position in an armed camp⁴.
When the King heard all that he (likewise) took up his 57
position near him with an army and a train ready for
battle. Now at that time many of the King's people suf- 58
fered from fever and died. When the Sword-bearer heard
that he took up the fight with vehemence. The King's army 59
was too weak, it was scattered and fled. The King fled be-

¹ I read *Rakkhavihāra* as against *-kaṃ* of the MSS.

² See 44. 43.

³ The Malayarāja's son (44. 43).

⁴ I believe that we must read *raṭṭhaṃ Janapadaṃ* and that with this is meant the country often mentioned later (66. 110 etc.), situated in northern Malaya towards Dakkhinadesa. The verb *ghātento* is curious. The Dohaḷa mountain is most likely to be sought in the district of Janapada. The form of the name agrees in all MSS. The alteration to *Dolhapabbata* in the Col. Ed. is arbitrary. It cannot be the mountain Dolagalvela. That lies on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga and occurs in the Mahāvamsa (10. 44) under the name *Dolapabbata*. The scenes described in our verses took place without doubt somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present Dambul. In v. 60 Sigiri (*Sīhapabbata*) is also mentioned in connection with the battle.

hind it. When the Sword-bearer met him alone near Sihagiri he slew the Great King together with his attendants. In order to kill Jeṭṭhatissa also whom he had left behind, he sent him a message: "Come and be King, come." Jeṭṭhatissa saw through the plan, turned and fled to Malaya (for he said to himself:) "Would he really hand over to me the royal dignity gained with so much trouble?"

When after six years¹ he had slain the Prince Moggallāna surnamed Dalla², the Sword-bearer with army and train entered splendid Anurādhapura, became king and rolled the wheel of dominion over the earth's circle. He was called Silāmeghavaṇṇa³, revered the Order and the Bodhi Tree, sacrificed to the three thūpas and enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall. During a bad famine he dispensed milk rice made with butter and syrup to the community and (presented it) also with filters. Through sheer generosity he won the hearts of the poor, of travellers and beggars. To boys the bountiful (Prince) gave money to buy cakes. In the Abhayagiri-vihāra he honoured the stone image of the Buddha by an offering. He had its ruined temple (restored and) brightly decorated with divers precious stones. He dedicated (unto it) the Kolavāpi tank to protect⁴ the Victor and he continually instituted sacrificial festivals at the greatest cost.

While the Monarch thus lived as a vessel⁵ for meritorious action, a general named Sirināga, mother's brother of Jeṭṭhatissa, had betaken himself to the opposite shore⁶. He returned

¹ The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

² The Sinhalese chronicles give this Surname to Moggallāna II. See note to 41. 63.

³ The Sinhalese chronicles do not mention the name of this king. They merely call him *asuggāhaka*.

⁴ That is, as wages for the guarding of the image and its temple he allotted the proceeds of the tank. The words *ārakkhattham jinassa* belong to *datvāna*, not to the following.

⁵ The word *bhājana* is used in Skr. with the same figurative sense. See BR. s. v., nr. 4.

⁶ I. e. to the mainland of India.

with many Daṃḍas and began to take possession of (the northern province) Uttaradesa. At the tidings of this, the King advanced, offered battle at the village of Rājamittaka, beat the Daṃḍas who had accompanied him, captured those who remained over from the slaughter, subjected them to all kinds of humiliation and distributed them here and there as slaves to the vihāras.

When the Monarch had thus gained the victory, he returned to the city and while he, after he had cleared the whole kingdom and was menaced from no side, dwelt there, a bhikkhu called Bodhi who had seen many undisciplined bhikkhus in the Abhayuttara-vihāra, though reckoned by the ceremony of world renunciation, he was still young, came to the King and begged him to proclaim a regulative act¹. The King had the regulative act carried out by him himself in the vihāra. Then all the undisciplined bhikkhus who had been expelled from the Order, took counsel together, murdered Bodhi secretly and annulled the act. When the King heard that, he was wroth, seized them all together and made them, their hands cut off and in fetters, guardians of the bathing tanks; another hundred bhikkhus there he expelled to Jambudīpa. In remembrance of Bodhi's efforts he thus cleansed the Order. When then he invited the bhikkhus of the Thera School with the others² to celebrate together the Uposatha festival, he was refused. He flew into a rage and offending all respect, he abused and reviled them with harsh words. Then he betook himself without demanding pardon of the bhikkhus, to Dakkhinadesa. There he was attacked by a fell disease and died suddenly. Thus after nine years³ he left the earth.

¹ See note to 39. 57.

² The other bhikkhus meant here are those of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. As the King has expelled the unworthy members of the Order, he thinks the time come for a common celebration with the bhikkhus of the Mahāvihāra, which they however reject.

³ The same length of reign is assigned to Asiggāhaka in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

83 His son the young prince, Aggabodhi by name, then
 84 became king, known by the name of Sirisaṃghabodhi¹. He
 invested his youngest brother Māna with the dignity of uparāja
 and granted him (the province of) Dakkhinadesa with fitting
 85 army and train. The King who did no discredit to the con-
 duct of former kings, protected the kingdom in justice and
 86 deeply revered the Order. Jeṭṭhatissa who heard all this
 in Malaya, betook himself to the Aritṭha mountain² and brought
 87 the population over to his side. After he had brought the
 southern and eastern districts into his power and made them
 his friends³, he began gradually to march with strong forces
 88 on the capital. He sent his minister Dāṭhāsiva to occupy the
 territory in the west⁴ and took up a position himself in the
 89 village Siripitṭhi. When the King heard all that he sent the
 Uparāja⁵ (Māna) with a force into the western territory. He
 90 went up and put Dāṭhāsiva to flight. The King thought: one
 can kill the fellow like a young bird in the nest⁶ and took

¹ For the first time Sirisaṃghabodhi occurs as royal *biruda*. WICKREMASINGHE has made the happy observation that in the sequel this epithet is used alternately with that of Silāmeghavaṇṇa, so that when a king bears the *biruda* Sirisaṃghabodhi, his successor calls himself Silāmeghavaṇṇa and conversely. EZ. II, p. 9. As name Sirisaṃghabodhi is first met with Mhvs. 36. 73 ff. (300 A.D.). The title was obviously chosen in honour of this pious king of the Lambakanna clan. The Sinhalese chronicles only know King Aggabodhi III. under the name Sirisangabō.

² Now *Ritigala*, the isolated massif halfway between Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa.

³ P. *susamānase*, not -so as in the Col. Ed. Jeṭṭhatissa not only brings the districts into his power, but also wins over the inhabitants as adherents (*samānasa* "being like-minded").

⁴ It seems to me that *pacchimaṇṇa disaṇṇa* in v. 88 as also *pacchimaṇṇa desaṇṇa* in v. 89 are not to be taken as proper names of a district, as little as *pubbadakkhiṇe* in v. 87, but merely as a general geographical designation.

⁵ See v. 84.

⁶ *Dārakaṇṇa* is probably to be taken in the oratio recta as S. and B. have it in their Sinhalese translation. The word is used contemptuously of the inexperienced *amacca* of prince Jeṭṭhatissa.

prisoner the prince's minister (Dāṭhāsiva) who had marched to Māyetti. Then he thought: I will catch Jeṭṭhatissa in the same way, and with a few troops the fearless one marched recklessly against him. But Jeṭṭhatissa on the news thereof, fell with a skilled army and train on the King's army like a sea that has burst its bounds. The army of the King was scattered; the King mounted his elephant and fled at once alone and in disguise. In the sixth month after his accession he hastily took ship and betook himself to Jambudīpa, deserting wealth, country and kinsfolk.

Jeṭṭhatissa now became king in the city; he fulfilled all duties as was formerly customary and protected the Order. Mahādāragiri he granted to the Abhayuttara-vihāra, to the Mahāvihāra he made over the Bodhi Tree called Mahāmetta. To the Jetavana the King granted Goṇḍigāma. To the practicing-house in the Mahānāga(-vihāra)¹ he assigned the villages Mātulaṅgaṇa and Odumbaraṅgaṇa and to the Kassapagiri² (-vihāra) (the village of) Ambilāpika for the (supply of) food. The village of Kakkhalaviṭṭhi he gave to the Veḷuvaṇa(-vihāra)³ and to the Gangāmāti-vihāra the village of Keheta; to the (vihāra) called Antarāgaṅga he gave the village of Cullamātika and to the (vihāra) Mayettikassapāvāsa (the village of) Sahannanagara. To the Kālavāpi-vihāra he assigned the village called Lada. This and other (vihāras) he provided abundantly with maintenance villages. What was ruinous he restored (at a cost of) three hundred thousand (kahāpaṇas); to the bhikkhus dwelling in the Island he presented the three garments.

The King (Aggabodhi) who had betaken himself to Jambudīpa had brothers in blood. These hidden here and there, sought to make the land rebellious. When Jeṭṭhatissa heard this, he betook himself to Kālavāpi, made war on them and

¹ For this vihāra see 42. 24. For *padhānaghara* cf. 37. 232.

² Inscriptional mention is made of this monastery under the name Kasubgiri on a tablet of Mahinda IV. See WICKREMASINGHE EZ. I, p. 216. It is mentioned again in Cūlav. 48. 24 under Kassapa III.

³ See note to 44. 29.

105 took up a position with his army on the spot. The King
 (Aggabodhi) who had gone to the other coast and there hired
 Damiḷa troops, came to Kālavāpi and began the combat. Jeṭṭha-
 tissa ready for war with a well equipped force, first letting his mi-
 106 nister Dāṭhāsiva escape¹ to Jambudīpa, mounted his armoured
 107 elephant, but seeing his troops fall back in the battle, he spake
 108 thus to the high dignitary who rode with him on the elephant:
 "Take my message to the Mahesī, then mayest thou do what thou
 109 wilt: forsake O great Queen, the world, recite the sacred texts,
 learn the Abhidhamma² and transfer the merit to the King³."
 110 After he had given this order, he hewed down the Damiḷas
 as many of them as met him in the course of the battle. But
 111 when his strength was failing⁴ he saw a Damiḷa called Veluppa
 coming to fight with him. Then as he was wont to keep a
 112 knife in the betel-nut bag in his hand, he quickly drew his
 dagger out of that and cut his throat. Then leaning upon the
 113 elephant, he stuck the knife back in the sheath. The great
 army cried aloud. The high dignitary set off, thinking ever
 114 and only of how the King had cut his throat, and gave the
 Queen the message. Together with her he underwent in the
 Order the ceremony of world renunciation and after he had
 115 mastered the Abhidhamma together with the commentary, he

¹ P. *palāpetvā*. The translation "he sent" does not give the full sense of the original. According to v. 90, Dāṭhāsiva had become the prisoner of Aggabodhi. But as it is expressly stated, v. 93, that Aggabodhi escaped alone (*eko*) in disguise to Jambudīpa, Dāṭhāsiva can no longer be in his power. It is thus not a case of freeing Dāṭhāsiva from captivity, the latter must be again in Jeṭṭhatissa's service. The idea is rather the following: Jeṭṭhatissa sends Dāṭhāsiva to Southern India, to cut off Aggabodhi's rearward communications, thereby unconsciously letting his minister escape the disaster overtaking himself.

² The Abhidhamma is the third part of the Buddhist Canon, in which its philosophical content is systematically summarized — the third *piṭaka*. See 37. 221.

³ P. *pattim deli rājino*. For the term *patti* see note to 42. 50.

⁴ P. *āyumi khayam āgate* perhaps "when his lifetime came to an end" according to his kamma.

came down (once) from the teacher's chair¹ and seated himself on the ground. At the Queen's request: come and show me how the King died, he seated himself in front of her, cut his 116 throat, stuck the knife (in the sheath) and spake: "Thus died his Majesty". When she saw that her heart broke through 117 heavy sorrow and she died. Thus after five months King Jetṭhatissa went to Heaven².

After Aggabodhi had thus victoriously subdued the foe 118 in battle, he restored his royal dominion and resided in the capital. To the practising-house³ called Mahallarāja which had 119 been erected⁴ by himself in company with the Uparāja (Māna), he granted the two villages of Haṅkāra and Sāmugāma as 120 well as the royal share in (the revenues) of Kehella, and the whole of the (necessary) staff. To the Jetavana(-vihāra) he 121 gave (the village) Mahāmaṇikagāma and he honoured the Mayettikassapāvāsa(-vihāra) by the grant of Sālaggāma. To 122 the Cetiya mountain⁵ he granted Ambillapadara and in Pulatthinagara he built the Mahāpānadīpa (-vihāra)⁶.

The court officials of the King slew the Yuvarāja Māna 123 who had committed an offence in the women's apartments,

¹ *Dhammāsana* is a raised seat in the centre of the assembly-hall of the bhikkhus on which the priest, who recites the sacred text, takes his place, his face turned towards the east. It differs from the *therāsana* on which the head of the Chapter has his seat, facing north. See Mhvs. 3. 21—22, 32, 35.

² Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give Lāmāni-Kaṭusara-Deṭatis — so the King is called in these chronicles — likewise a reign of five months.

³ See 37. 232; 39. 58.

⁴ In the Col. Ed. the text of the MSS. has been arbitrarily altered. There is nothing surprising in the use of the loc. *kārite* instead of the genitive *kāritassa* used with *padhānagharakassa*. Cf. Cūlav. ed., Intro. p. XVIII.

⁵ *Cetiyaḡiri* = *Cetiyaḡabbata* here of the monastery erected on the Mihintale mountain. See notes to 38 75 and 42. 28.

⁶ For the form of the name see note to 44. 6. The name of the later capital of the kingdom, Pulatthinagara (now Polonnaruwa) is here mentioned for the first time in the Cūlavamsa. It does not occur at all in the older Mahāvamsa.

124 although they had promised him absolute safety¹. Therefore
 the King wishful of securing the succession (for his family),
 invested his youngest brother Kassapa by name with the
 125 dignity of Uparāja. Now when Dāṭhāsiva heard of the death
 of Māna he came in haste with Daṃḍa troops to the village
 126 called Tintinī². At the tidings of his advance Aggabodhi
 marched out with his army, gave battle and was forced in
 127 the twelfth year (of his reign) to flee to Jambudīpa. At his
 flight he left everything behind. He took with him only the
 pearl chain of one string³ by which to make himself known,
 128 and departed quite alone. Even without the chain of one
 string of pearls Dāṭhāsiva became king, according to custom,
 known over the circle of the earth under the name of
 129 Dāṭhapatissa. The other (Aggabodhi) seized the op-
 portunity and got hold of the government again by fighting.
 130 So each drove out the other in turn. But the whole people
 suffering under the wars of these two kings, fell into
 131 great misery and lost money and field produce. Dāṭhapatissa
 exhausted the whole property of former kings and seized all
 objects of value in the three fraternities⁴ and in the relic
 132 temples. He broke in pieces the golden images and took the
 gold for himself and plundered all the golden wreaths and
 133 other offerings. In the Thūpārāma likewise he took away
 the golden crowning ornament on the temple and smashed
 the umbrella on the cetiya which was studded with costly
 134 precious stones. The canoes in the Mahāpāli Hall he left to

¹ I now believe that the conjecture *aparajjhivā* of S. and B. instead of *aparujjhivā* must be accepted with regard to 51. 8. The construction of the sentence is certainly irregular. The gerund *aparajjhivā* is used like a Loc. absol. The court officials killed the Yuvarāja because an offence in the women's apartments had been committed by him.

² As the yield from taxation of this village according to 41. 96 was assigned to the Mahāvihāra, it cannot be situated very far from Anurādhapura. Thus Dāṭhāsiva advances from the coast direct on the capital.

³ Obviously a peculiarly valuable part of the regalia, of the *rāja-sādhana*. Cf. Skr. *ekāvalī*, as well as 46. 17.

⁴ See note to 41. 97.

the Damiḷas; (and) they burned down the royal palace together with the Relic Temple¹. Later he repented and to acknow- 135
ledge his wrong he founded the Sākavatthu-vihāra with the (necessary) revenues. His sister's son also, the Mahādīpāda, 136
known among the people by the name Ratanadāṭṭha, supported the King with his income. (Once) when Aggabodhi had by 137
military superiority got hold of the kingdom, the Yuvarāja, Kassapa², the deluded one, to provide for his army led by 138
evil-natured villains, broke open by force the cetiya of the Thūpārāma and plundered the valuable treasures given by 139
Devānampiyatissa, the younger Aggabodhi³ and (other) former kings. He also broke open the cetiya of the Dakkhiṇa-vihāra 140
and seized the valuable treasures and he had yet other (cetiya)s broken open. When he acted thus led away by evil-natured 141
people, the King was powerless to prevent him — alas! evil-doers will not be hindered (in their action) — and as 142
he could not hinder him he by the organisation of a festival, restored the cetiya of the Thūpārāma shattered by him, at the cost of a thousand (kaḥāpaṇas).

Now the Lord of men Aggabodhi was defeated by Dāṭṭhopa- 143
tissa and betook himself to Rohaṇa to restore his army and train. While he sojourned there he fell ill and died in the 144
sixteenth year⁴ (of his reign). Thereupon his youngest brother the Yuvarāja Kassapa, sent King Dāṭṭhopatissa flying to 145
Jambudīpa and united the country under one dominion; but the crown he did not wear⁵. Through intercourse with pious 146
people he repented and with the thought: I will make an end

¹ See note to 37. 95.

² Younger brother of Aggabodhi III.

³ By Aggabodhi II. Cf. with this, 42. 51 ff.

⁴ The calculation evidently starts from the beginning of the reign of Aggabodhi III. Thus the 15-16 years include the first period of Aggabodhi (6 months), the interregnum of Jetṭhatissa II, as well as the reign of Dāṭṭhopatissa who, according to v. 126, seized the sovereignty in the twelfth year of Aggabodhi. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. simply say that Jetṭhatissa reigned 5 months, Dāṭṭhopatissa (Lāmāni Dalupatis) 12 years and Aggabodhi (Sirisaṅgabō) 16 years.

⁵ Evidently Dāṭṭhopatissa had secured the Regalia.

147 of my evil doings¹, he laid out flower gardens, fruit gardens
and tanks and he honoured the three great cetiyas by large
148 offerings. To the Thūpārāma also he brought an offering
and granted it a village and he had the sacred texts recited
149 by all the foreign bhikkhus². In the Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra) he
erected a very massive pāsāda and let the Grand Thera live
150 there who had his seat in Nāgasālā. While he sojourned there,
he provided him with the four necessities and had the
151 Abhidhamma with the commentary recited by him. Then after
he had had the Nāgasālā dwelling put in order³ he made it
over to him also, and granted him the village of Mahāniṭṭhila
for the supply of the (four) necessities.

152 Now Dāṭhapatissa came hither from Jambudīpa with a
153 great force; but when he offered battle to Kassapa he was
defeated by the latter who had a well equipped army, and
was slain. Twelve years had passed since he became king⁴.
154 A sister's son of Dāṭhapatissa named Hatthadāṭha fled full of
fear from the great battle to Jambudīpa⁵.

155 Thus in truth all joys are fleeting, hard to attain is their
delight and lasts but a moment. Therefore he who seeks his
salvation will give up his joy in these and will turn to the truth.

Here ends the forty-fourth chapter, called "The Six Kings",
in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious.

¹ Lit: I will bring about the destruction of my evil kamma.

² The *āgāmyabhikkhavo* are the opposite of the *bhikkhavo dīpavāsino*, the bhikkhus settled in the Island. Those are bhikkhus who come from outside, on a pilgrimage to Ceylon, for instance. When W. translates: "holy monks who lived not among the habitations of men", he was probably thinking of *ārañṇakā bhikkhavo*.

³ We must take *katvā* in the sense of "to restore", in which the verb *kar* is often used. It would also be possible to translate *Nāgasālakaṃ āvāsaṃ katvā* by "after he had made a habitable dwelling out of N." In any case the meaning is that the former dwelling of the Mahāthera, Nāgasālā, had become dilapidated and that until its restoration the King assigned him as dwelling the newly built pāsāda in the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra.

⁴ If we compare this with the calculation in the note to 44. 144, we find that Dāṭhapatissa's death falls in the eighth year of Kassapa's reign.

⁵ See for this passage my edition of the Cūlavamsa, Introd. p. XIX.

CHAPTER XLV

THE FOUR KINGS

Hereupon Kassapa, the victor in the fight, whose aspiration 1
 was fulfilled, gave a most excellent repast in the Mahāpālī
 Hall to the community. He honoured the ascetic Mahā- 2
 dhammakathin who lived in the Nāgasālā by a great offering
 and induced him to recite the true doctrine. In honour of 3
 the Thera who was a native of Kaṭandhakāra, who lived in
 the building erected by his brother, he had the sacred text
 written down with a short summary¹. What was delapidated 4
 he restored and had new works undertaken on the cetiyas and
 provided sundry revenues for the community in several places.
 He had three diadem jewels² wrought which glittered with 5
 different precious stones, and he gladdened a hundred Paṇḍu-
 palāsas³ by an offering of garments.

Kassapa had many sons, the eldest of them was Mānaka. 6
 They were not yet in riper years, children without much sense.

¹ *Kaṭandhakāravāsīn* probably refers to the home of the therā whose name is not mentioned, just as to-day when a bhikkhu enters the Order the name of his native place is prefixed to his adopted one. His abode was evidently the *padhānaghara* called Mahallārāja built according to 44. 119 by Kassapa's brother Aggabodhi III. in company with the Yuvarāja Māna. With "summary" (*saṃgaha*) of the sacred text one should compare titles like Abhidhammatthasaṃgaha, Dhammasaṃgaha, Saddhammasaṃgaha, Sārasaṃgaha.

² Evidently as crowning ornaments for the three great cetiyas — Mahāthūpa, Jetavana- and Abhayagiri-Thūpa. Does the epithet *nānāmaṇi-samujjotaṃ* indicate that each cetiya had its own particular colour?

³ W. (p. 32, note); "A *paṇḍupalāsa* is a lay candidate for holy orders living in the vihāra until he could get his robes and alms-bowl made."

7 Now once when he was seized by a bad illness, he thought:
 8 my sons are all still children, incapable of reigning, and he
 sent for his very clever sister's son (Māna) who lived in the
 province of Rohaṇa and transferred to him the whole govern-
 9 ment, together with the care of his sons. After he had
 honoured the cetiyas with perfumes, flowers and other offerings
 he made his peace with the bhikkhu community by supplying
 10 them with the four necessities. Thus the Lord of men practis-
 ed justice towards friends, officials and subjects and went
 after nine years¹ according to his doing.

11 Māna having piously fulfilled the prescribed duties towards
 his uncle, won over the people and had the Damiḷas² expelled.
 12 But the Damiḷas banded themselves together with the resolve:
 we will drive him out, and just while he was away they seized
 13 the town. To Hatthadāṭha who was in Jambudīpa, they sent
 the message: "It is time for thee to come and take over the
 14 government." Māna also sent a message in haste to his father
 to Rohaṇa. When his father heard it he came hither from
 15 Rohaṇa without delay. The two took counsel together and
 made a mock treaty with the Damiḷas. Thereupon they were
 16 all in accord. Māna now crowned his father (Dappula³)
 king. He when he was consecrated, presented the (three)
 17 fraternities with three thousand (kaḥāpaṇas). Having thus
 won over the Order and the kingdom, for himself, he sent all
 provisions found in the palace to Rohaṇa to secure them from
 18 the enemy. When Hatthadāṭha heard the news of the Damiḷas
 19 he came immediately to this Island with a Damiḷa force. All
 the despised Damiḷas who dwelt here, arose and joined him
 20 on the way as he approached. And Māna thought when he
 heard all that: it is no time to fight now, and sent his father,

¹ The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. where the king has the name Pāsuḷu-Kasubu. Likewise in Rājaraṭn. and Nik.-s.

² The mercenaries whom Dāṭhopatissa had brought with him from Southern India and who according to 44. 134 f. had become an undisciplined rabble.

³ The King's name is first mentioned in v. 36. The Sinhalese chronicles agree in calling the successor of Pāsuḷu Kasubu Dappulu.

the King, with the valuable property to Rohaṇa. He betook 21
 himself to the Eastern Province and bringing the people round
 to his side, took up his abode there. But Hatthadāṭha who
 had won over the party of the Damiḷas for himself, occupied
 the royal city and publicly took the name of Dāṭhapatissa. 22
 After his mother's brother the people called him by this name.
 Having fetched his father's brother's son, Aggabodhi by name, 23
 he placed him in the position of Yuvarāja and granted him
 the province of Dakkhinadesa. Upon his supporters he bestow- 24
 ed honourable office according to merit and towards the Order
 and the people he fulfilled every duty. In the Mahāpāli Hall 25
 he had besides clothing, rice with sour milk, milk and milk
 rice distributed and keeping the Uposatha day, he hearkened
 to the sermon. As he made all offerings and had sermons 26
 preached, he by these and other merits made himself happy.
 To the Kassapa-vihāra¹ he granted the village of Senāmagāma 27
 and Mahāgalla² he gave to the practising-house. To the Mora- 28
 pariveṇa³ he granted (the village of) Kasagāma and the cetiya
 of the Thūpārāma he honoured by the grant of Puṇṇeli. In 29
 the Abhayuttara(-vihāra) he built the Kappūra-pariveṇa⁴ and
 he built the vihāra called Tiputthulla and added it to the
 same (vihāra). As he was about to do this, the bhikkhus of 30
 the Thera School wanted to prevent him, because the vihāra
 was situated within their boundary⁵. But he treated them
 without consideration and carried the thing through by force.

¹ What is meant is probably the Kassapagiri-vihāra mentioned 44. 98 (see the note) and again 48. 24.

² Cf. note to 44. 3. The "practising-house" is probably the padhānagharā Mahallārāja mentioned 44. 119 and which is probably meant in 45. 3.

³ See note to 37. 172.

⁴ This pariveṇa is mentioned again twice. Aggabodhi IV. built a *pāsāda* there according to 46. 21 and Sena I. according to 50. 77 a *pariccheda* (s. note to 42. 39).

⁵ The passage is surprising. As the Abhayuttara (Abhayagiri) is without doubt the northern thūpa it is difficult to understand how a boundary dispute can arise between it and the Mahāvihāra, the seat of the Thera Bhikkhus.

31 Then the bhikkhus of the Thera School were bitter against
 the King, saw in him an unbeliever and applied to him the
 32 turning down of the alms-bowl¹. For the wise Master hath
 33 said: "If an unbelieving layman thinks to lessen the income
 of the bhikkhus or taunts them, the turning down of the
 alms-bowl is to be applied." Hence they carried out this
 34 action against him — the laity thought otherwise — and they
 made the agreement that when a bhikkhu goes on the mendicant's round bearing the alms-bowl upright, he shall turn it
 35 down at the gate of his house. Now at that time the King
 was smitten with a fell disease and died in the ninth year
 (of his reign²), since the end of his lifetime had come.

36 King Dappula had meanwhile betaken himself to his Rohaṇa
 and took up his abode there, heaping up a store of meritorious
 37 works. Now we will relate the history of his house
 in due order, because if it is related now it will cause no
 disturbance³.

38 There was once a man of the lineage of Okkāka⁴, known
 by the name of Mahātissa, rich in merit, a mine of heaped-up
 39 virtues. He had a wife known by the name of Samghasivā
 gifted with wealth and virtue, the daughter of the ruler of

¹ The meaning of *pattanikkujjana* is clear from this passage. If the bhikkhus wish a layman to be regarded as expelled from the society, they make this known by refusing to take alms from him, turning down the bowl as it were. V. 33 d is a parenthesis: Though the laymen did not approve it, the bhikkhus carried out the action.

² Pūjāv. and Rājāv. say also that Lāmāṇi-Daḷupatissa reigned 9 years. They make him the successor of Dāpulu. Nik.-s. mentions two successors of Dāpulu: Lāmāṇi-Daḷupatissa and Pāsulu-Daḷupatissa.

³ To judge by the form of the introduction to the following passage appearing so disconnectedly in the context, it seems to me beyond a doubt that the author has here made use of another source, apparently a chronicle of Rohaṇa and its dynasty. It must be the same source which is employed in 57. 3 ff., where just as abruptly as here, a section from the history of Rohaṇa is inserted. Cf. also note to 47. 1.

⁴ A mythical king (Skr. Ikṣvāku, Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 201), through whom (Mhvs. 2. 1 ff.) the Sākya family from which the Buddha sprang, is derived from Mahāsammata. See also ROCKHILL, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 9 ff.

Rohaṇa. She had three sons: the first was called Aggabodhi, 40 the second Dappula, the third Maṇiakkhika. She also had 41 a daughter who came to the court of the King. The eldest son was the independent ruler¹ of the province called Rohaṇa. Rich as he was, he had the Mahāpāli Hall built in Mahāgāma² 42 and there also the pariveṇa called Dāṭhaggabodhi. In Kāṇa- 43 gāma³ (he built) hospitals for the blind and the sick and a large image house in the Paṭimā-vihāra. There the wise (prince) 44 set up a stone image of the Buddha which he had made and which received the name of "the great", produced as by a miracle. Further he built the Sālavāṇa-vihāra which bore his 45 name and the Pariveṇa-vihāra as well as that of Kājara-gāma⁴. He erected new buildings in the Dhammasāla-vihāra 46 and the discerning (prince) himself cleaned out the privies therein. Once having enjoyed the food left over by the 47 bhikkhu community he (being) pleased, granted the village of Maṇḍagāma⁵ to the community. When he after performing 48 these and other meritorious works, had gone to Heaven, his next brother Dappula by name, became ruler (in the land). He carried on the government after subduing his enemies, 49 instituted a great almsgiving, (and) made Rohaṇa secure. His 50 subjects were contented with him and said: he is our great lord and since then the people called him "Great Lord".

¹ This passage shows that Rohaṇa about 600 A. D. was not yet incorporated with the kingdom with the capital Anurādhapura, but that it held or at any rate claimed an independent position beside it.

² The name is contained in that of the present Magama (Census of Ceylon, 1921, II, 194, on the left bank of the Kirinda-oya not far from its mouth in the Hambantota district) whose cultivated land is watered by the Magam-Ela diverted from the Yoda-veva in Tissamahārāma. Mahāgāma is first mentioned Mhvs. 22.8 as the residence of Devānampiyatissa's younger brother, Mahānāga.

³ The name means "village of the blind".

⁴ Now *Kataragam* north of Tissamahārāma, on the Menikganga, on the old road from Mahāgāma to Guttasālā (now Buttala). It is known by a much visited shrine of Skanda. According to the Census of Ceylon (II. 464) the village had 103 inhabitants in 1921.

⁵ A Madugama in the Mahavedirata Korale of the Badulla District (N. E. of Buttala) is mentioned in the Census of Ceylon II. 460.

51 When the Ruler of men Silādāṭha¹ heard of that he gave
 him his daughter (to wife) and delighted at his many good
 52 qualities, he granted him the office of Yuvarāja, indicating by
 that that he was fitted for the royal dignity. Mānavamma and
 53 other men of high repute were his sons. When he was with the
 Mahāthera who dwelt in the Pāsānadīpa (-vihāra) and had
 heard the sermon of the sacred texts, he experienced believing
 54 trust in him and to honour him he built the Rohaṇa-vihāra²
 and gave it to him. But the Thera made it over for the use
 55 of the community in the four quarters of the earth. Dappula
 built the Ambamālā-vihāra and many other vihāras; he also
 56 erected the Khadirāli-vihāra and offered to the god³. The
 discerning (prince) repaired the Anurārāma-pāsāda, the badly
 decayed Muttolamba(-pāsāda)⁴, the Sirivaḍḍha-pāsāda and a
 57 further one (called) Takkambila, and housed thirty-two bhikkhus
 therein whom he gladdened by the gift of the four necessities.
 58 The village of Kevaṭṭagambhīra he granted to the Nāga-
 vihāra⁵, to the Rāja-vihāra he assigned the village of Gonna-
 59 gāma. In the same way he gave to the Tissa-vihāra (the

¹ The name as name of a king does not occur in this form in the Cūlavamsa — another proof of the separate character of the Rohaṇa Chronicle. King Silāmeghavaṇṇa is meant; for in 45. 8, 11 Māna, the son of Dappula, is described as sister's son (*bhāgineyya*) of Kassapa II., the son of Silāmeghavaṇṇa. Thus Dappula was married to the sister of Kassapa II, a daughter of Silāmeghavaṇṇa.

² The Col. Ed. has *viḥāraṃ Rohaṇa* and W. accordingly translates "a viḥāra in Rohaṇa". The MSS. reading meanwhile, is *viḥāraṃ Rohaṇaṃ* and it is quite correct, for in the Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also the building of the Ruhuṇuvehera is ascribed to Dāpulu. Cf. Cūlavs. ed., Introd. p. XIX.

³ Presumably there was at this spot a local Hindu cult, probably of Skanda, the God of Kājaragāma, a kind of patron saint of Rohaṇa; and the King did not neglect to reverence the deity.

⁴ I take *Muttolambaṃ* for the name of a pāsāda. At any rate W.'s translation "ornamented it with festoons of pearls" is impossible to reconcile with the text. The finite verb would be wanting.

⁵ One of the oldest vihāras in Rohaṇa, built by the founder of the dynasty, Mahānāga, the brother of Devānampiyatissa. Mhvs. 22. 9.

village of) Kattikapabbata and to the Cittalapabbata(-vihāra)¹ the village of Gonnarivṭṭhi. Having granted to the Ariyākari (-vihāra) the village of Mālavatthu, he built in that place a superb image house. For the (image of) the Victor (Buddha) there he had a valuable tuft of hair (between the brows) made and a bandolier² of gold and brought it every kind of offering. Decayed cetiyas he adorned with a new coating of stucco and further he had a statue fifteen cubits³ high made of the saviour Metteyya⁴. These and other meritorious works without number the Prince performed himself and had them also performed in pious fashion by his retinue. Amongst the people surrounding him were many men of meritorious action; numerous vihāras furnished with (all) necessities were built by them.

Once when Dappula was on the march in a pathless wilderness, he after finding quarters for his army, pitched his camp at night. As he lay there, well bathed and oiled and well fed, outstretched on a splendid couch and in a comfortable tent, he tried to sleep. Nevertheless he found no sleep and although with the thought, what then could be the cause, he pondered over all that he had experienced during the day, he found no cause in himself⁵. Thus he thought it must lie outside (of his person) and entrusted people with the task of seeking it. He spake thus: "Without doubt worthy friends⁶ of mine have tarried during the night at the foot of a tree

¹ The Tissa-vihāra, now the Tissamahārāma near Hambantota, and the Cittalapabbata-vihāra were founded by Kākaṇṇatissa (Mhvs. 22. 23). The ruins of the latter, now called Situlpav-vehera (Nik.-s. 15. 17) lie fifteen miles N. E. of Tissamahārāma not far from Katagamuva. See JAYAVARDANA, Ceylon National Review II, p. 23. For an inscription in the Situlpav-vehera see E. MULLER, Anc. Inscr. Ceylon, Nr. 16, p. 29, 74, 110; WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I, p. 60, 67.

² For the *unṇaloma* and the *hemapaṭṭa* (or *hemavaḍḍha*) on the Buddha images s. note to 38. 64.

³ About 22½ ft. (= 6.86 m). See note to 37. 172.

⁴ Note to 37. 242.

⁵ The word *anto* which refers to the person of the King, stands in opposition to *bahi*.

⁶ The word *ayyakā* refers to bhikkhus.

70 and have become wet. Bring them hither!" Numbers of people with torches in their hands set forth to the search and found¹ bhikkhus who came from Mahāgāma, under a tree. 71 They returned and told the tidings to the King. He hastened thither, and when he saw the bhikkhus brought them full 72 of joy to his own tent, gave them red garments which he kept ready for constantly renewed gifts to the bhikkhus, took 73 the wet garments himself and had them dried, practised the custom of feet-washing and the like, made them all sit on a 74 well covered couch, offered them medicine, handed it to them himself, did for them also in the morning everything that 75 had to be done, such as feeding and the like, gave them servants and let them go when they liked. Thus was the beginning of the day² spent by him who had his pleasure in doing meritorious works.

76 While thus this most excellent of men directed his life and also the kingdom, thinking only of meritorious works, 77 keeping all his subjects to meritorious action, Māna tarried in the Eastern Province and collected troops. Then he 78 brought together his father's army and resources and marched to Tisucullasagāma³ to begin war. Dāṭhapatissa also marched on hearing the tidings of this, with strong forces to Tambala. 79 When they met they fought a great battle. Dāṭhapatissa's 80 warriors sent Māna to Heaven. When Dappula heard that, he died also, pierced with the arrow of grief. Seven days long dwelling in Anurādhapura he had wielded the sceptre⁴;

¹ *Gacesantā* has the meaning of seeking as well as finding. The verb governs the acc. *bhikkhū* "when during their search they found bhikkhus . . . they returned . . ."

² The reading of the MSS. *tassādi divasaṃ gataṃ* (as emendation instead of *gato*) is very good and must not be altered as in the Col. Ed., into *tassāsi divasaṃ gataṃ*. The point lies just in this, that already in the early morning the King could satisfy his desire for *puñña*, how much more in the course of the day.

³ The greater number of my MSS. have this reading. Only in one of them is it corrected into *Tipullaheyagāmakam*. The Col. Ed. reads *Tipucullasagāmakam*.

⁴ Namely immediately after the death of Kassapa II. Then he re-

in Rohaṇa he wielded it three years: therefore we have spoken 81
of him in Rohaṇa as well as here¹.

Thus were the joys which a man won toilsomely only by 82
killing his foes in fight, effulgent but for a moment, like the
lightning. What wise man would find his pleasure in them?

Here ends the forty-fifth chapter, called "The Four Kings",
in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
of the pious.

tired to Rohaṇa, his son Māna to the Eastern Province. The events
described in v. 78 ff. took place three years later, thus still in the first
half of the reign of Dāṭhopatissa. According to Pūjāv. Dappula reigned
3 years and 3 months. According to Rājāv. 10 years. Both sources
have in mind the reign in Rohaṇa.

¹ Namely in Anurādhapura.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE THREE KINGS

1 After Hatthadāṭha's death the younger brother of the king,
 the prince Aggabodhi became (king) under the name of Siri-
 2 samṃhabodhi¹. He was a just monarch, gifted with right
 views; therefore he performed meritorious works without number.
 3 He took care of the eating-houses of the inmates of the three
 fraternities, enlarged the Mahāpāli Hall and decreed the kee-
 4 ping of the command not to slay. He bestowed office accord-
 ing to worth without preference², and by showing favour in
 accordance with rank, clans and so forth he won over these
 5 to himself. Wherever the discerning (prince) saw bhikkhus he
 honoured them and made them recite the Paritta³ which is
 6 contained in the doctrine (of the Buddha). (Once) when he
 visited the Thera Dāṭhāsiva who dwelt in Nāgasālā, rich in
 7 knowledge, virtuous, highly learned, he paid him reverence,
 heard from him the doctrine of the Perfectly Enlightened One,

¹ From *rājino* we must supply the predicative substantive *rājā*.

² P. *anālayo*. Cf. note to 42. 42.

³ Ceremonies at which a Paritta Text is recited are observed on the most divers occasions, joyful and sad, at the inauguration of a new house, on a journey or at similar undertakings, for warding off sickness, after cases of death, etc. For such a ceremony at which I was present see Journ. PTS. 1924—27, p. 227. The epithet *sāsanogadha* stresses the canonical character of the Paritta. The texts of the Paritta are taken from the canonical writings and the Khuddaka-Pāṭha itself is a kind of Paritta (s. SEDENSTÜCKER, Khuddaka Pāṭho, trsl. p. 2 ff.) I am inclined to believe that it is this book which is meant by the Paritta mentioned 37. 226. The Paritta ceremonies are derived from popular magic. This is clearly seen in the narrative 51. 80, 52. 80.

rejoiced fervently over the doctrine since it offers absolute peace. When then he heard of the many injuries done to the 8
bhikkhus of the Thera School by evil-minded villains, former
relatives of his own kinsfolk, he restored the ruined vihāras 9
and pariveṇas as they had been originally and granted them
here and there maintenance villages with abundant revenues.
Where the necessities had been curtailed he brought them now 10
as it were to new growth. Slaves he placed at the disposal of
the community where they were wanted. For the above named 11
Thera he built a practising-house which bore his name; the dis-
cerning (Thera) accepted it and made it over to the commu-
nity. As maintenance villages the King granted it¹ Bharattāla, 12
Kihimbila, Kataka, Tulādhāra and Andhanāraka, Andhakāra, 13
Antureḷi, Bālava, Dvāranāyaka, as well as Mahānikkaḍḍhika
and further Peḷahāla. Having granted these and other main- 14
tenance villages, the Ruler of men placed at its disposal helpers
for the monastery who were even of his own kindred. Having 15
further seen and heard that necessities flowed sparingly to the
vihāras of the two fraternities², he granted them also many
maintenance villages. What need (is there) of many words? 16
Also to the three fraternities he gave a thousand villages
with large and assured revenues. Bearing in mind the splendid 17
qualities of the three Jewels³, he took the pearl chain⁴ of
one string and made of it a rosary⁵. Thus he was in all 18
his dealings one to whom the teaching of the Buddha was the
highest (good), and vying with him all the people also fulfilled
the (commands of that) doctrine. The Damiḷa by name Pottha- 19
kuṭṭha, who was in his service, erected the wonderful practising-

¹ P. *tassa*; *padhānagharassa* must be supplied. All the foundations enumerated in vv. 12—14 had to do evidently with the "practising-house" mentioned in v. 11. For the monastery helpers (*ārāṃikā* v. 14) see note to 37. 63.

² Perhaps the Thūpārāma and the Maricavattī-vihāra. See note to 41. 97.

³ Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha, the Buddha, his doctrine and his Order are thus called.

⁴ See note to 44. 127.

⁵ P. *akkhamālā* = skr. *akṣamālā* with the same meaning.

20 house, called Maṭambiya¹ and assigned it the Ambavāpi (tank)
 at Būkakalla, the village of Tantavāyikacāṭikā, as well as the
 21 village of Niṭṭhilavetṭhi together with slaves. In the Kappūra-
 pariveṇa², as well as in the Kurundapillaka (-vihāra) and (in
 the vihāra of) Mahārājaghara the same (Potthakuṭṭha) erected
 22 pāsādas. In addition he granted, wealthy as he was, three
 villages to the vihāras. The wise Senāpati, Potthasāta by
 23 name, finished in the vihāra called Jeta a pariveṇa that bore
 the King's name. The Damiḷa Mahākanda built the pariveṇa
 24 called after him, another (built) the Cullapantha (-pariveṇa)
 and Samghatissa, the Uparāja of the King, (built) the Sehā-
 25 la-uparājaka. Many people besides erected these and other vi-
 hāras, emulating the King; for it is the rule with living crea-
 26 tures: what he who is master does, evil or good, the same
 is done by his subjects; let the wise man take heed of that.
 27 The highly virtuous Mahesī of the King, Jeṭṭhā by name, built
 28 the Jeṭṭhārāma as abode for the bhikkhunīs and granted it
 two villages in the Pattapāsāṇa domain and the village of
 Buddhahelagāma, as well as a hundred monastery helpers.
 29 The wealthy Malayarāja gave a costly relic-house for the cetiya
 30 in the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra³ and on the Lohapāsāda he covered
 the central pinnacle. The Bodhitissa-vihāra was erected by the
 31 highly respected Bodhitissa. All the heads of districts in the
 Island built here and there according to their means, numerous
 32 vihāras and pariveṇas. The time of this Ruler of men con-
 sisted as it were, in nothing but meritorious works; for fear
 33 of prolixity they have not been fully enumerated⁴. Even
 the foregoing form of the narrative which gives but a sur-

¹ WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. II, p. 10, note 5) identifies with this building the *Māḍbiyan priveṇa* mentioned in the Timbiriveva pillar inscription.

² A building in the Abhayagiri-vihāra according to 45. 29.

³ Mentioned as *Māḍiligiri* in the Medirigiri inscription (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. p. 28), about 46 m. E. S. E. of Anurādhapura in Taman-kaduva, N. E. of the Minneri lake. The ruins are described in the ASC., Ann. Rep. for 1897 (= XLII. 1904), p. 7.

⁴ P. *vicāritam*. One must start from the meaning "explained singly (*vi-*), analyzed".

vey of the most important matters¹, seems to me too long-winded².

At another time he had taken up his abode in Pulatthi- 34
nagara³ whither he had betaken himself, amassing a store of
meritorious works. He was attacked by an incurable disease 35
and as he saw that the time for his death had come, he called
his subjects, exhorted them to piety and went to his death. 36
When he was dead his subjects mourned all in deep grief,
performed for him on his pyre all ceremonies without fail, 37
made for themselves medicine⁴ from the ashes of the pyre,
then they took carefully all the royal treasures and the whole 38
army and train under their protection and betook themselves
to the town (Anurādhapura).

Thus the King went in the sixteenth year (of his reign⁵) 39
to Heaven, the Damiḷa Potthakuṭṭha administered his kingdom.
He seized the person of the Uparāja Dāṭhāsiva, had him 40
thrown into prison and ordered him to be strictly guarded⁶.
But as he thought: without a king it is impossible to rule the 41
earth, he fetched hither the chief of Dhanapiṭṭhi⁷ Datta by

¹ Lit.: A general view (*upalakkhaṇam*) of the cases (or examples, *hetūnam*, cf. the meaning of latin *causa*) according to the degree of their importance (*yathāpadhānam* is used exactly like skr. *yathāpradhānam*). W.'s translation: "inasmuch as it has been mixed up with remarks on the nature and condition of things which lead men to good and evil" — a free rendering rather than a translation — misses the point.

² Figurative in the original, the comparison with a road (*magga*) which is overcrowded with people (*ākula*).

³ For the first time here Polonnaruva (cf. 44. 122 with note) is mentioned as a royal residence, though only temporarily.

⁴ A very characteristic trait of primitive mentality.

⁵ The Sinhalese chronicles call the king only by his epithet *Siri-sangbō*. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him a reign of 16 years. Both chronicles as also Rājaraṭn. ascribe to him the building of the Piyagal-piriveṇa and of the Devnuvara(-vihāra). This is Devanagara, now Dondra at the southern point of Ceylon.

⁶ The guard (*rakkhāvarāṇa*) refers not as W. thinks, to the country, but to the prisoner, Dāṭhāsiva.

⁷ A now uninhabited village, Danpitigama, lies to the north of Ku-

42 name, who belonged to the royal family, and consecrated him
 43 king; and in his name¹ he administered the whole. Datta
 erected in Dhanapiṭṭhi a vihāra which was called after him
 44 and heaped up other meritorious works. After living exactly
 two years², he died. But Potthakutṭha after his death, sum-
 45 moned another young man, Hatthadāṭha who was a native
 of Uṇhānagara. Him also he consecrated king and acted as
 46 before. Having built the practising-house of Kāladīghāvika and
 performed other meritorious works, Hatthadāṭha fell after six
 months into the power of death³.

47 When the wise have once realised how baleful are trea-
 sures, wealth and power⁴ they will surely give up the desire
 for royal dignity and find their whole joy solely in meritorious
 works.

Here ends the forty-sixth chapter, called "The Three
 Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and
 emotion of the pious.

runegala in the Korale Katuvana, Ambagasse-Palata (Census of Ceylon,
 II. p. 288).

¹ Lit.: putting forth his (Datta's) name.

² In the Sinhalese sources the king is called *Valpitiwāsi-dat*. Pūjāv.
 gives him a reign of 2, Rājāv. one of 10 years. The place name *Valpita*
 is often met with in Ceylon.

³ In Sinhalese sources he is called *Huṇannaruriyan-Daḷa* or the like.
 The length of reign given him in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. is the same as in
 the Cūlav. 6 months.

⁴ P. *vāhanāni* "chariot" as emblem of the military power of princes.

[CHAPTER XLVII]

After the death of this king, Mānavamma¹ became king. 1
Of what clan was he? Whose son was he? How came he to
reign²?

Now there was belonging to the line of Mahāsammata and 2
bringing with him (as inheritance) the good qualities of his
clan, a son of Kassapa, the depredator of the Thūpārāma and
(there was also) a daughter of the Malayarāja King Saṃgha- 3
māna³. He wedded her and lived with her in retirement in
Uttaradesa (the Northern Province). When this affair had 4
been spied out by the prince Hatthadāṭha, he betook himself
to Jambudīpa and sought out the ruler Narasiha, told him his 5
name and entered his service. He satisfied the Lord of men in
every way. When he felt assured of his friendly feeling, he 6
let his wife come and took up his abode there, serving (the
King) day and night. But the ruler of Kaṇḍuveṭṭhi⁴ who 7

¹ Sinhalese documents call the king Mahalā-pānō.

² Here it is again probable that the author has taken a new source for his narrative. Cf. note to 45. 37.

³ I consider the alterations of the text in the Col. Ed. *bhedino* for *bhojino* in v. 2 and *Samghā nām'assa rājinī* instead of *Samghamānassa rājino* as inadmissible in view of the complete agreement of the MSS. They are also unnecessary. The word *bhojin* has also in Skr. the meaning of "exploiting" in an unfavourable sense, as we have to take it here. The verses 2 and 3 a. b. are evidently a kind of title, hence the absence of the finite verb. The name of the wife Saṃghā is first mentioned in v. 8.

⁴ Namely Narasiha W. says erroneously "another king, Kaṇḍuveṭṭhi". The name of the territory *Kaṇḍuveṭṭhi* over which Narasiha ruled, reminds one of Kaṇḍuveṭṭhi in 77. 79 used as the name of a vassal prince

governed the whole kingdom, well pleased with him, granted him a large income. In wedlock with him his wife, Saṃghā by name, bore four daughters and four sons.

Now once as the King was taking an airing for pleasure on the back of his elephant, together with Mānavamma, being thirsty, he drank without dismounting¹, a young coconut, and passed it then to Mānavamma whom he did not regard as his equal². Mānavamma took it and thought: "My friend is monarch here. Is there for such beings such a thing as leavings in the strict sense of the word? It is right therefore if I drink thereof". Thus he thought and drank thereof. Such great efforts³ are made by those who wish for success. The King saw that, was alarmed, and in his turn drank what the other had left over. This is ever the way of acting of the honourable. From that time onward he made him his equal in food and dwelling, in equipment and means of conveyance.

While the two so lived (together), the Vallabha King⁴ came to make war on Narasiha. Narasiha reflected: "This (my friend) serves me untiringly night and day in the expectation that through my service he will gain the royal dignity which belongs to him by right of descent. If he were

in Southern India. It is probably a case of writing the same name in two ways. HULTZSCH, JRAS. 1913, p. 527 has shown that Kaṇḍuveṭṭi or -veṭṭi is synonymous with Kāḍavāṇ, a designation of the Pallava kings. Thus Narasiha was a Pallava.

¹ Lit.: being there (namely on the back of his elephant).

² It is contrary to custom to offer an equal the remains of one's own meal. The word *añña* "not his equal" stands in opposition to *saka* in v. 14. Narasiha realises his error and makes it good by taking the coconut from Mānavamma and drinking what he has left.

³ In this case the effort of self-restraint.

⁴ The *Vallabhas* are a South Indian tribe. Their ruler is simply described (as also in 54. 12 ff.) as the Vallabha. Vallabha as the name of a people occurs also in SKR. BAHADUR VENKAYYA EL. III. 277; HULTZSCH (JRAS. 1913, p. 528) has proved that Narasiha is identical with the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and his enemy the Vallabha with Pulakesin II. whose capital Vātāpi was taken by Narasiha. FLEET (HULTZSCH l. c., p. 529) has calculated the date as A. D. 642. Cf. H. W. COBBINGTON, H. C., p. 35-6.

now to march out with me and found his death in battle, then all that he and I have planned together would be without result." Pondering thus, the King let Mānavamma return to 18 his town (and) he himself began the war against the Vallabha king. Mānavamma thought likewise: "If this king, while I 19 am in life, falls in this war, of what value would my life then be to me? His trust in me would have been an error 20 if I were to behave so. Why by making me his equal did he favour me?¹ Is it therefore meet that I go forth with him 21 to the battle-field; for it is happiness for me to live or die with him here." Thus pondering, armed he mounted his fa- 22 vourite elephant, went forth and appeared before the King on the battle-field. When Narasiha saw him he cried out full of 23 joy: "Truly I have shown him friendship² as I was bound to show it." Thereupon the army of Mānavamma and the 24 army of the King scattered the army of the Vallabha king at their encounter. Mānavamma showed his heroism, distin- 25 guishing himself by his courage like Nārāyaṇa³ in the battle of the gods. But Narasiha rejoiced over Mānavamma's bravery 26 and embraced him lovingly with the words: "It is thou who hast brought me the victory." He returned to his town, held 27 a festival of victory and showed all (honour) that was due to Mānavamma's army. Now the King thought thus: "My friend 28 has done all that was due on his part; from to-day he is without obligation towards me. I will now also discharge my 29 debt by doing on my part what is due; for grateful people who remember what has been done for them are very hard to find." He assembled the dignitaries and spake these words: 30 "Ye are witnesses of the deeds of this my friend. I also must 31

¹ He has favoured me in the expectation that I might help him in his difficulties

² The acc. *saṁthavaṃ* is governed by *aho*. I now see that he was worthy of what I have done him.

³ As Indra-Sakka is otherwise always considered as the protagonist of the Gods in the battle against the asuras or demons, we must take *Nārāyaṇa* here to be one of his names. In a passage of the *Samyutta* commentary (ed. Cal. p. 279²³) the strength of the chaddanta elephants, elephants with 6 tusks, is described as *Nārāyaṇa-balaṃ*.

now show him all the love and happiness which are his due. A return service for him who has earlier rendered us a service is the duty of the pious." At these words the dignitaries answered the Ruler: "Whatsoever the King wishes finds favour with us." Thereupon the Sovereign gave Mānavamma an army with the attendant train and the whole equipment and all the necessary servants and spake to him: go forth then, and as he gazed after him as he marched forth with the army, he wept as for a son that goes to a far country. Mānavamma embarked in the vessels at the sea-coast and arrived quickly, after he had with speedy voyage crossed the sea¹ and penetrated into Laṅkāḍīpa with his army laying waste. At tidings of this King Dāṭhapatissa fled. Mānavamma came into the town (Anurādhapura) and without taking over the sovereignty², he arose and pursued closely the fugitive (Dāṭhapatissa). Then the Daṃḍa army heard that its Lord (Narasīha) was smitten with a fell disease. On these tidings it departed. When Dāṭhapatissa heard that, he marched with a strong force against Mānavamma and began the fight. Mānavamma thought: "My whole army has gone; if I fall³ then the wish of my foe is fulfilled; I shall betake myself therefore to Jambudīpa to fetch troops there and recover the dominion." Therefore he did so. He departed, sought again his friend Narasīha, and cleverly satisfying him, he served him heedfully. During the reigns of four kings⁴ Mānavamma stayed there. Then Narasīha thought: "With pride unbroken, finding in honour his wealth, my friend serves me for the sake of the royal

¹ The *taṃ* in 35 d must be supplemented by *jaladhīm* from *jaladhī-taṭṭe* in b.

² P. *ahutvā va narādhīpo*. What is meant is that he wasted no time in performing the ceremonies of *abhiseka* connected with the solemn ascent of the throne. Cf. 48. 26.

³ P. *mate mama*. Here the gen. *mama* takes the place of the loc. *mayi*. See Cūlav. ed. I, Introd. p. XVI.

⁴ These were the kings Dāṭhapatissa II., his enemy in his unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne, as described v. 35—41, further Aggabodhi IV., Datta and Hatthadāṭha.

dignity and will become old and grey-headed thereby. How can I when I see this, exercise dominion? If I cannot at 45 this time by sending forth my troops, gain the kingdom¹ for him of what use is my life to me? Having so pondered, he 46 collected his army, equipped it with what was needful, gave it (the pay) it demanded, marched himself at its head to the 47 sea-coast, had numerous strong ships of different shape built here and spake to the dignitaries: "Go ye with this man 48 here." But all the people there refused to go on board. Then 49 Narasiha reflected, hid himself, but gave his own armour, known everywhere as badge of the King, and all his own 50 ornaments to Mānavamma, told him to embark and said: "Go thou and when thou art at sea have this drum called Kotṭha 51 sounded." He did all this. But the people in the belief it was their king who was going forth, went on board and left 52 the Ruler of men alone behind. Māna(vamma) began the voyage with the army. The whole ocean was as a (floating) 53 town. Having reached the port he landed with his army, remained there a few days that his troops might rest, took 54 Uttaradesa (the North Province), brought the inhabitants into his power and began with his invincible great army to march 55 on the town. When Potthakuṭṭha² heard this he advanced against him with a large force. The two armies clashed with 56 each other like seas that have burst their bounds. Mānavamma who fully armed had mounted his elephant, separated Pottha- 57 kuṭṭha and the King and put them to flight. When the people in the country saw Hatthadāṭha fleeing, they seized his head 58 and showed it to Mānavamma. Potthakuṭṭha fleeing reached Merukandara³. When the chief (of the district) saw him there 59 he thought: "He has been for long my friend; therefore when

¹ The words *imasmim pana vārasim* as far as *na gaheṣṣāmi* form a conditional introductory sentence without a conjunction. Such conditional sentences occur also in Skr. See SPEYER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, § 288. W.'s translation goes to pieces on the negative *na*.

² He carried on the government for Hatthadāṭha who was nominally king, according to 46. 44 ff.

³ See note to 41. 19.

he, in his need, takes refuge with me I must not desert him.
 60 But how can I towards these two, my master and my friend,
 remain free from blame?" and he ate poisoned cake and died.
 61 Potthakuṭṭha ate of the cake with him and died likewise.
 Thus for Mānavamma the Island was freed of the briers (of
 enemies).

62 From that time Mānavamma set up in the Island the um-
 brella (of his dominion) warding off therewith as it were, all
 63 harm from the inhabitants of the Island. He performed many
 inestimable meritorious works; what man would be able to
 64 enumerate these in their order? After founding two villages,
 he the excellent one erected in the Padhānarakkha(-vihāra)
 65 (of the one) the pāsāda called Sepaṇṇi and in the Sirisaṃgha-
 bodhi(-vihāra) (of the other) the blissgiving (pāsāda) Sirī. He
 roofed over the Lohapāsāda as well as the temple in the Thū-
 66 pāramā. After he had built a pāsāda in the Thūpāramā, he
 made it over to the Pamsukūlins¹.

¹ P. *pamsukūlin* denotes ascetic bhikkhus who only wore garments made of rags (*pamsukūla*) patched together. In Ceylon the word has without doubt come to designate a particular sect whose members were pledged to the observance described above. According to 51. 52 the Pamsukūlins belonged up to the time of Sena II. to the congregation of the Abhayagiri-vihāra, when however, they seceded and formed a special group of their own.

The MSS. are here all badly mutilated. Only the MS. of the Colombo Museum tested by me on the spot, gives a text at all capable of translation (Cf. Cūlav. ed., vol. II. Introd. p. II): "After building a pāsāda in the Thūpāramā, he made it over to the Pamsukūlins. What was decayed he restored, after providing that the vihāra could be easily supplied with (the four) necessities. He even restored the umbrella on the decayed temple and he also granted to the adherents of the Dhammaruci (sect) the Rājīnīdīpa-vihāra." It seems to me beyond a doubt that we have here an attempt at emendation on the part of the copyist. The Col. Ed. also tries to restore at least v. 66. The text should be translated thus: "After

he had built a pāsāda in the Thūpārāma, he handed it over to the Pamsukūlins. He repaired the decayed umbrella on the top of the cetiya; and he also restored numerous shrines which had fallen into decay."

Then too the Sinhalese sources name as successor of Mānavamma (Mahalāpānō) an Aggabodhi (Akbō). According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he was the son of Mānavamma to whom, it is true, they ascribe the reign of 35 years, including no doubt the time of his sejour in India, while Akbō is said to have reigned 6 years. Also in Mhvs. 57. 25 an Aggabodhi is named as eldest son of Mānavamma.

Now as the signature of our chapter describes it as the 48th, a 47th would therefore be entirely absent. Thus S. and B. have assumed that there is a gap in our MSS. The missing part should have contained as conclusion of chapter 47, the end of the reign of Mānavamma and in the new chapter 48 the beginning of the reign of Aggabodhi V, the further course of which is described in the 19 verses which have been preserved. A gap might be explained by the loss of a leaf out of the archetype.

I have adopted this assumption in my edition and translation, must insist however, that the arguments taken singly are not compelling. That the Sinhalese chronicles insert a king who does not occur in the Cūlavamsa we have already seen (s. note to 41. 102). Yet on the other hand, the mention of Aggabodhi in 57. 25 must be taken into account. The absence of the chapter number 47 is also not decisive. Numbers 40 and 43 are also wanting without any gap being noticeable in the account of events. It is therefore not impossible that it is merely a case of the mutilation of single verses. The assumption of the loss of a leaf would in the first instance only explain a gap, it would not explain the mutilation of the text after v. 66. It is however, the combination of the two first arguments which make the assumption of a gap probable and the probability is perhaps strengthened by the fact that just at the place where the gap might have to be assumed, the text of the MSS. is in disorder.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE SIX KINGS

1 After he had made thereof a mansion for which the
 necessities could easily be provided, he also presented the
 Rājīnīdīpika(-vihāra) to the bhikkhus of the Dhammaruci
 2 School. After building the Mahānettapādika cells (for dwell-
 ing in), he granted to the same (Dhammarucis) the village
 3 of Devatissa (the district of) Koṭṭhavāta. In Mahāthala he
 built (the vihāra) called Kadambagona, further in Devapāli
 4 the (vihāra) called Girinagara, in Antarasobbha the Deva-vihāra,
 further he built the Rājamātika monastery and gave it¹ to
 5 the Pamsukūlins². In the Gokaṇṇaka-vihāra³ he erected a
 practising-house and the ruined temple of the Vaḍḍhamāna
 6 Bodhi Tree⁴ he had restored. In the vihāra called Saṃghamitta
 and elsewhere he, the highly-famed, had here and there new
 7 works undertaken on the vihāras. At a cost of six and twenty
 thousand gold pieces⁵ he restored whatever had fallen into
 8 decay on the Cetiypabbata. Having restored the Tālavatthu-

¹ It is possible that besides *Rājamātikaṃ ārāmaṃ* as object *adā* should receive the names of all the vihāras mentioned in v. 3 and 4.

² Of the localities mentioned in v. 2-4 Antarasobbha alone is mentioned in Mhvs. 25. 11 as a district. Instead of Koṭṭhavāta Col. ed. reads Kokavāta which occurs 37. 42 and 47 as the name of a village and of a tank built by Mahāsena (4th c. A. D.). The MSS. however, give no authority for this reading. Mahāthala is probably the present Matale (north of Kandy) (Thus W. in Index s. v.). For the Pamsukūlins s. note to 47. 66.

³ Built by Mahāsena according to Mhvs. 37. 41.

⁴ Cf. below 49. 15. Like the images of the Buddha, the Bodhi trees had their special names.

⁵ P. *suvaṇṇa*. In Skr. *suvarṇa* is a weight = *karsa*. This is according to BR. = 11.375 gr. This would give an expenditure of over £ 40,000 according to the present value of gold.

vihāra he granted (the village of) Pannabhadda to the vihāra called after the Ruler of men Mahāsena¹. The Gonḍigāmika 9 tank which had burst he dammed up as before and to all living beings he gave as a gift whatever they needed. The 10 Uposatha day he observed with fasting together with the inhabitants of the Island, and preached to them the doctrine in order to procure them spiritual happiness. Everyone in his 11 kingdom cultivated action which leads to Heaven, for as the monarch acts so do also his subjects. Therefore should a wise 12 king ever practise piety; in every place where men dwell² he will become renowned and finally, surrounded by his com- 13 panions, he enters Nirvana. Therefore the prudent man should contemplate that which is for his good and for that of others. For if all the subjects attain good discipline through an in- 14 dividual who himself has good discipline, how could a discerning man let such an one come to harm?³ No means for bringing 15 to beings happiness in both worlds was left untried by him who was unflagging day and night. The fine garments worn 16 by himself he gave to the Pamsukūlin bhikkhus as raiment. The employment (of officials) in wrong places, undeserved fa- 17 vour or unlawful seizure (of property) was unknown with him. To all creatures he gave the nourishment by which each of 18 them live, and whatever makes them happy with that he blessed them. Thus after the Ruler of men had performed 19 meritorious works for six years⁴ he, the peace-maker went (to the Heaven of) the King of the gods⁵.

¹ As neither Tālavatthu nor Pannabhadda are otherwise mentioned it is difficult to understand rightly the sense of this passage. It seems to me that Tālavatthu was an older monastery which Aggabodhi restored and to which he granted a village, afterwards giving it the name of Mahāsena by whom perhaps the older structure had been built. A Buddha image in the Mahāsena monastery is mentioned in 51. 76.

² P. *nivutthanivutthanhi thāne*, lit. "in each inhabited place" applied by W. to the King "wheresoever he may dwell", which is also possible.

³ The meaning seems to be this: it lies in his own interest to educate his people to piety by his own example, as this assures his own safety. He will have all the right-minded on his side.

⁴ The same length of reign in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

⁵ That is to the heaven of the Tāvātimsā gods at whose head stands the King of the gods, Sakka-Indra.

20 Now his brother next in age, the prince Kassapa, became
king, well qualified for the royal burden¹, for taking it over
21 according to ancient custom. As a father (wins) his son, so
he won his people by generosity, by friendly speech and by
22 care for their welfare. Offices he bestowed on various people
according to merit and he himself enjoyed the pleasures of
23 life, free from all sorrow. For laymen, bhikkhus and brāh-
manas the prince encouraged the way of life fitting for each
24 and carried out the command to kill no living creature. The
25 two Macchatitthas², the mansion Heligāma, the monastery
Vāṇijagāma, as well as Kassapagiri; further the superb prac-
tising-house called Ambavana, maintenance village³. . . .

26 Amongst them all the youngest was the prince called
Mahinda. When the royal dignity came to him he was yet
27 not king⁴, although he bore the burden of the kingdom. He
had a friend by name Nīla, with whom he had for long had
intimate intercourse. But he had died beforehand. In memory
28 of him he would not have it⁵. Alas! even the dominion over
the Island he deemed not blissful, since his friend was wan-
29 ting. Friends are so hard to get. Hence the Sage (Buddha)

¹ I believe that *rājabhārassa* (or *rajja*^o) is directly governed by *sa-*
mattho. In Skr. in the same way with *samartha* the thing for which
one is qualified may stand in the loc. or the dative. *Bhārassa* would
correspond to both. Instead of *pubbavuttino* I should prefer to read
pubbavuttito, adverbial ablative.

² Inscriptional *Mustoṭa* in an inscription of Mahinda IV. WICKRE-
MASINGHE, EZ. I. 216, 221, 227.

³ Here again there is a gap in the recorded text. Of the MSS. with
which I am acquainted one, at least, indicates this by leaving a space
free for about 4½ ślokas. The finite verb is missing for the objects in
vv. 24, 25. The missing verses must have contained the end of the
reign of Kassapa III. According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. he reigned 7 years.
Both sources as well as Rājaratn. mention the building of the Helagam-
pariveṇa. Of the other names which are mentioned above, Kassa-
pagiri alone occurs again (44. 98).

⁴ P. *nāhosi rājā*, see note to 47. 37.

⁵ Namely the festivities connected with the *abhiseka*.

hath said¹: "All worldly things and all spiritual things which lead to Nirvana, these all are the lot of beings who have associated with a staunch friend; therefore must one ever strive after (gaining) staunch friends." Only as Ādipāda² he administered the kingdom to protect as it were, during his life, living beings on the Island. On Aggabodhi, the son of his brother Kassapa he conferred the dignity of Uparāja and gave him abundant revenues. He assigned him (the Eastern Province) Pācīnadesa and sent him forth to take up his abode therein. (The province of) Dakkhinadesa the King gave to his own son³. To the Mahāpāli Hall he gave an offering of ten cart-loads and beggars he provided with luxuries like his own. He ate nothing without first having given to the beggars, and if without thinking of it, he had eaten, he used to give them double of what he had himself enjoyed. For the bhikkhunīs he built an abode which was called after himself and granted them as convent boundary⁴ (the village of) Nagaragalla. He built the Mahindataṭṭa monastery⁵, provided it with the four necessities and performed many another meritorious work, rejoicing at the worth of such works. After the discerning (prince) had reigned in this way for three years⁶, he seeking his friend, entered into the world of the gods.

¹ The *kalyāṇamittā* are often praised in the Canon. It seems to me that this passage is an allusion to Samyutta 3. 18 (= I, p. 88) where the Buddha after a eulogy of the *kalyāṇamittatā*, says of himself *mamaṃ hi, Ānanda, kalyāṇamittaṃ āgama* (cf. v. 30 a1) *jātidhammā sattā jātiyā parimuccanti* etc. The passage occurs once again Samy. 45. 2 (= V, p. 3).

² See note to 41. 35.

³ Who likewise bore the name *Aggabodhi*, (See v. 39). W.'s "the southern country (only)" gives a wrong shade of meaning to the context. The bestowal of Dakkhinadesa was in no sense a slight. It was just this province which was reserved for the heir apparent.

⁴ W. takes *ārāmaṃariyādaka* as the name of another village.

⁵ The *Mahindataṭṭa* tank had already been built by Aggabodhi I and given this name in honour of the Thera Mahinda who converted the Island to Buddhism. See 42. 29.

⁶ The Sinhalese sources call this king Midelpaṇā or Midel only. The name is missing in the Nik.-s.; Pūjāv. and Rājāv. give him a reign of three years like the Cūlavs.

39 Now Prince Aggabodhi (son of Mahinda) who dwelt in
 Dakkhinadesa, had for some reason or other come to the ca-
 40 pital. While he sojourned there the Ādipāda Mahinda died;
 41 thus the kingly power came into his hands. After taking
 possession of it and securing it he sent a message¹ to Agga-
 42 bodhi, the Governor of Pācīnadesa. He came hither and be-
 came king under the name of Silāmegha². The dignity of
 Uparāja the monarch conferred on the Prince (Aggabodhi of
 43 Dakkhinadesa). The latter entreated the King thus: free
 thyself from the burden of cares and enjoy life's pleasures,
 44 and administered the government himself. As was meet, he
 treated his subjects with severity and clemency and all un-
 disciplined people on the Island the discerning one brought
 45 on to the right path. While the twain lived thus, the evil-
 minded found no opportunity for interfering, and they thought:
 46 the twain must be estranged. They went to the King and
 spake slanderously to him in secret: "Thou art King in name,
 47 in reality the other is king; the Uparāja will take the royal
 dignity for himself; the people he has already won over; in
 a short time he will be king, of that there can be no doubt."
 48 When the Monarch heard that he fell out with the Prince
 and the Prince when he noticed that, became a rebel against
 49 the King. He fled to his province, won over the inhabitants
 50 and with mighty forces began the war. At Kadalīnivāta³ a

¹ A message to the effect that everything is ready for him to take over the government. As Aggabodhi of Pācīnadesa is a son of the elder brother Kassapa, he is according to Sinhalese law, the legal successor of Mahinda. Mahinda's son Aggabodhi willingly recognises this.

² SYLVAIN LÉVI (Journ. Asiatique, May-June, 1900, p. 418; cf. JRAS. Ceyl. Br. XXIV, Nr. 68, 1915-16, p. 87 ff.) communicates a Chinese account according to which an Indian monk, Vajrabodhi, on the way to India touches at Ceylon where he is invited by the king Chi-li-Chi-lo (i. e. Siri-Sīla). S. LÉVI identifies this king with Mānavamma (see 47. 1 ff.), but E. R. ARYTON (Ceylon Notes and Queries II. Jan. 1914, p. XXVII ff.) probably more correctly, with Aggabodhi VI. Silāmegha.

³ Must be situated according to 44. 6, on the line of march from Dakkhinadesa, (more exactly from Mahāgalla, not far from the present Nikaveratiya) to Anurādhapura.

bitter fight took place. The Prince suffered a defeat and be-
 took himself to Malaya. Later the King thought gratefully 51
 of his cousin's support¹, of the transference of the royal dignity
 and the rest and grieved quite openly. The Prince too on 52
 hearing this, became conciliatory. So they let each other
 know how they loved one another. The King betook himself 53
 quite alone to Malaya, took the prince with him and returned
 to his capital² he married him to his daughter 54
 Samghā by name. While he lived with her in intimate inter- 55
 course with the King, he (once) angered at some fault or
 other, struck her a blow. She went to her father and wept 56
 before him bitterly. "Without reason the husband thou
 gavest me kills me." Scarcely had the King heard this than 57
 he thought: of a truth I have done wrong, sent her at once
 to a home for bhikkhunīs and made her undergo the ceremony
 of world renunciation. Now the son of her maternal uncle, 58
 Aggabodhi by name, whose heart had been long filled with
 love for her, thought this was a favourable time to flee with 59
 her, seized her secretly and betook himself alone (with her)
 to Rohaṇa. The Ruler of men Aggabodhi took (his cousin) 60
 Aggabodhi with him and betook himself with him to Rohaṇa
 to slay (the seducer) Aggabodhi. (The Uparāja) Aggabodhi 61
 made his cousin (the King) Aggabodhi halt³, and went him-
 self to the western mountains⁴ so slay (the seducer) Aggabodhi.
 When at the head of a great army he had brought the whole 62
 of Rohaṇa into his power, he delivered battle and seized him
 and his own wife Samghā. From that time onward the three 63

¹ Lit. "of his brother". As the father's brother is called father, so the sons of brothers are brothers.

² The line a b of v. 54 is defective in all the MSS. I propose to complete it thus: *hoti nissamsayaṃ dhāro iti tuṭṭho atīva so* "with the thought: he is no doubt firm, he, being highly pleased, gave him &c. &c."

³ The verb *nisīditvā* stands here in a causative sense instead of *nisīdāpetvā*. Cf. Cūlav. ed. Introd. p. XIV.

⁴ The western mountains of Rohana are probably the not inconsiderable mountain range rising south-east of Ratnapura which reaches its greatest height (over 3000 ft.) to the south of Rakvana where it is crossed by the Bulutota Pass.

lived happily and in harmony in mutual intimate intercourse
 64 at their ease. The King built the Vāpārani monastery and
 the Mānaggabodhi monastery, further the Sabhattudesabhoga
 65 in the Abhayuttara-vihāra as well as pāsādas in the vihāras
 Hatthikucchi¹ and Punapiṭṭhi, in the Mahāpariveṇa² and in
 66 Vāhadipa³. In the Thūpārāma he restored the damaged doors
 of the temple as they were before and transposed the pillars⁴
 67 therein. After performing these and other meritorious works
 according to his power, he passed away in the fortieth year
 of his reign according to his doing⁵.

68 Thereupon the Uparāja Aggabodhi, the fortunate, became
 69 king, son of the wise Ādipāda Mahinda. To the Order and
 to the laity he showed favour according to merit. With the
 70 dignity of Uparāja he invested his own son Mahinda. The
 ruined temple of the great Bodhi Tree he built anew and so-
 lidly; he also built two monasteries: Kalanda and Mallavāta.
 71 By legal acts he carefully reformed the Order of the Conqueror
 (Buddha) and judging according to justice, he rooted out un-
 72 just judges. He himself studied the medicinal plants over

¹ See note to 42. 21.

² See note to 42. 26.

³ Mentioned again 49. 33 under Udaya I and 49. 76, along with the Hatthikucchi-vihāra, under Dappula II.

⁴ It seems to me that what is meant by the temple (*geha*) of the Thūpārāma is the superstructure of the cetiya. What makes this likely is the mention of the pillars which were re-arranged by the King. The pillars which surround the thūpa in four rows are in the Thūpārāma (as also in the Lankārāma cetiya) still partially preserved. They were intended to support the roof which was of wood. Cf. for plan SMITHER Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura, p. 4 ff. Such superstructures are described as *cetiya-* or *thūpa-gharāni* or *-gehāni* analogous to the *bodhi-gharāni* or *-gehāni*. SMITHER doubts it is true, whether the pillars at the Thūpārāma cetiya could have borne such a structure, while PARKER (Ancient Ceylon p. 270) quite admits the possibility. The custom of building over a cetiya is even to-day not unknown. I myself saw an interesting example in the Budumutava monastery at Nikaveratiya which I visited on the 20th April 1926 in the company of the Archaeological Commissioner Mr. A. M. HOCART. The term *thūpaghara* is inseparable from that of *bodhi-ghara* (s. note to 38. 43).

⁵ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give King Akbō a reign of 40 years.

the whole island of Laṅkā (to find out) whether they were wholesome or harmful¹ for the sick. He had rice by allot- 73
ment² distributed to the inmates of the three fraternities and delicious foods fitting for himself, to the Pamsukūlins. The King, having thus with unrestricted royal power, per- 74
formed these and other meritorious works, died after six years just as he was sojourning in Pulatthinagara³.

Formerly Aggabodhi had a son; he had died as Yuvarāja. 75
Since then no son existed as heir to the throne⁴. There was 76
however a son of the King Silāmegha⁵ by name Mahinda, fitted for the royal dignity, rich in merit, capable of winning the people for himself. On the day of his birth the King 77
(Silāmegha) consulted the astrologers and when he heard their answer that the boy was fitted for the royal dignity, he gave 78
them plenty of money and kept the matter a secret. But when he grew up he made him his senāpati. He gave the entire 79
government into his hands⁶ and as independent ruler the discerning (prince) fulfilled the royal duties in a just way⁷.

¹ W. gives an entirely different rendering. He separates *maṅgalaṃ cāvamaṅgalaṃ* from *bhesajjaṃ* and translates: "ordained the form and manner of holding festivities and funerals". There is no verb in the text corresponding to "ordained". All the accusatives are governed by *vicārayi*. But if *maṅgalaṃ cāvamaṅgalaṃ* meant what W. assumes, the objects to be tested by the King would still have been very heterogeneous and the combination of *m. cāvam.* with *bhesajjaṃ* very amazing.

² S. CHILDERS, Pali Dict. s. v. *salākā*: "Food belonging to the collective saṅgha of a monastery was sometimes distributed to the monks by tickets called *salākā*, and consisting of slips of wood, bark, bamboo, talipot leaf or other similar material. Food so distributed was called *salākabhattaṃ* "ticket-food" . . . Similar tickets seem to have been issued by private persons, like our soup-tickets".

³ The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Pulatthinagara is here again a temporary royal residence as in 46. 34.

⁴ Lit.: The kingdom was sonless. *Yuvarāja* is here used of Mahinda as *uparāju* above in v. 69.

⁵ I. e. Aggabodhi VI. Cf. above v. 42.

⁶ This happened evidently at the time when Aggabodhi VI. was in conflict with his Uparāja, afterwards King Aggabodhi VII. Cf. above v. 48 ff.

⁷ We have here one of these cases where in the course of a sentence the subject changes the gerund being used in the sense of a Loc. abs.

80 Therefore when (King Silāmegha) died, he as clever statesman¹
 took not the dignity of senāpati from the hand of his suc-
 81 cessor Aggabodhi (VII). (On the contrary) at that time he
 betook himself with some kind of commission from the King
 to the sea-coast and took up his abode in the seaport of
 82 Mahātittha². When he heard here of the death of his uncle³
 he came hither in haste (fearing) rebels might seize the king-
 dom and destroy it.

83 Then in (the Northern Province) Uttaradesa the chiefs of
 districts together with the dwellers in the province seized the
 84 land by force and refused tribute to the King⁴. At the ti-
 dings of this Mahinda advanced with a great army to Uttara-
 desa, crushed all the chiefs of districts together with the
 85 dwellers in the province, betook himself then to the spot
 where the King had died, sought out the Queen, wept (with
 her), comforted her according to the circumstances of the time,
 86 and spake the following words: "Grieve not, Great Queen, that
 thy husband is dead. I will shelter the Island, thou mayest
 87 keep the royal dignity." By her silence she seemed to assent;
 in secret the crafty one took measures to slay him, as she
 88 wanted to live in her own way. When the Senāpati (Mahinda)
 found this out, he had her watched and put her adherents,
 89 a great number of people, to flight in combat. Then he had
 the Queen put into fetters and brought in a chariot, took her

(See note to 39. 26). Aggabodhi is subject of *katvā* in 78 b and *katvāna* in 79 a. With *so* in 79 c Mahinda is meant. W. gets out of the difficulty by apparently separating *sayamvasi* into *sayam vasi* and translating "he lived (without care and anxiety)". But for this interpretation there are no corresponding words in the text for those which the translator has put in brackets.

¹ P. *nayaññu*. One can perhaps see in such expressions the influence of the Indian Nīti-literature. Cf. *yathānayaṃ* below in v. 96.

² Now *Mantai* or *Mantota* not far from Mannar. It is already mentioned in Vijaya's time (Mhvs. 7. 58) as the place where settlers from the Indian mainland land.

³ P. *cūlapituno*, lit.: of his little father. His grand-father and the father of Aggabodhi VII. were brothers. Cf. note to 51. 24.

⁴ Lit.: they made the country into one where the King's taxes were cut off.

with him to the capital and seized the royal power together with the (royal) treasure¹.

Now there was also a sister's son of King Silāmegha called 90 Dappula, an ādipāda who had at his disposal a large army and considerable means. He sojourning in Kālavāpi, collected 91 his army and advanced to the neighbourhood of Saṅgagāma to begin the war². At the tidings of these events the Senā- 92 pati marched in haste thither, at the head of his army, taking the Queen with him. A terrible battle took place there be- 93 tween the two. When the Ādipāda saw his army falling back he took flight and escaped with his army into the mountains³. 94 After the Senāpati had put him to flight there, he lived happily.

When the district chiefs of Uttaradesa heard that the ca- 95 pital was unoccupied they all came together and took the town. But the Senāpati, a hero of indomitable courage, chased 96 them away again, entered the town himself and administered the government according to the rules of statecraft⁴. For the 97 bhikkhu community, for the laity, for fishes, game and birds, for his kinsfolk and for the troops he did everything that was meet for them. Later on Dappula who was in Malaya, brought 98 together a reserve army. He summoned his two sister's sons from Rohaṇa and taking all the inhabitants of the province 99 with him, he reached the town with a great army at night time and broke over it like the ocean. The troops encom- 100

¹ See 39. 28; 41. 20.

² As *bhāgineyya* of Aggabodhi VI. he held that he was the legal heir before Aggabodhi's son Mahinda. The same view is taken by Dappula's brothers (see v. 116) who believe themselves entitled to the crown after him.

³ According to the Col. Ed. one should translate "he climbed with his train the Acchasela mountain". This name does not occur in any of the MSS. with which I am acquainted. The majority have simply *palāyutvānamāruhittha savāhano*. Two MSS. insert *saseno* before *savāhano*, evidently a gloss to this word. The object of *āruhittha* is everywhere missing. I have supplied it according to the sense. Perhaps one should read *Malayaṃ so savāhano*.

⁴ See note to 48. 80.

passed the town with clangour on all sides. With the neighing
 101 of the steeds, the trumpeting of the elephants, the rattle of
 the drums with their rhythmic sound¹ and the battle cries of
 the warriors the firmament was at that time near to bursting.
 102 When the Senāpati saw the great army he was light-hearted
 and informed his own troops of the matter with the words:
 103 "Three king's sons have shut in our town with a great force:
 104 what must ye then do?" Thus addressed, these warlike heroes
 answered: "On a day when they have not served their king
 105 there is for his servants no life². If at such a time as this
 we were from love of life to flinch, for what then had our
 master maintained us for so long a time for our well-being?"
 106 At these words Mahinda full of confidence, placed his army
 in readiness at night and at daybreak mounted his tried ele-
 107 phant, broke through a gate like a downrushing thunderbolt,
 and began with his thousand warriors the irresistible combat.
 108 After scattering the troops of the Ādipāda in all directions,
 he gathered (his people) together at one spot and proclaimed
 109 a truce³. The Ādipāda Dappula already vanquished at early
 morning, fled with those who had escaped the slaughter to

¹ *Tālāvacarasaddānaṃ* is adjective attribute to *kāhalānaṃ*.

² The manuscript reading *devāsevādīne* (= *deva-asevā-dīne*) alone gives the right sense: only when their whole life is absorbed in service of their king do his servants wholly fulfil their duty. W.'s translation "from the day that your servants entered your service, their lives have they given unto you" is impossible. It is made so by the loc. *dīne* and by the negation in *sevakānaṃ na jīvitaṃ* which was simply not taken into account. In any case one would have to translate "their life belongs to his servants no longer". Even then the difficulty with *dīne* remains, it cannot possibly mean "from the day".

³ *P. niyattim sampavedayi*. The word *niyatti* is otherwise unknown. It is derived from the root *yat* with *ni*, which probably means "to unyoke (the horses), to rest". Also in the single passage in the Rīgveda (I. 186. 11), where the verb occurs, it seems to me to have this meaning. I should be inclined to translate *nī yā devēṣu yātate vasūyūr* by "that (namely our supplication) which prays for good enters into (the abode of) the Gods". GELDNER, Rīgveda I. 241: "that aspires to the Gods". The idea is that Mahinda to prevent further bloodshed, forbids the pursuit of the enemy.

Rohana. But the two princes who had some time before come 110 from Rohana, Mahinda captured alive and took with him to the capital. The hero who had thus gained the victory, now 111 that the Island was at peace, sent his army forth to subdue (the East Province) Pācīnadesa. They marched into the pro- 112 vince and also into (the North Province) Uttaradesa, subdued them in a short time and brought over a large force to their side. The King¹ however, made the Great Queen his consort, 113 as he thought she could neither be set free nor slain². In 114 consequence of their intercourse she became with child and brought forth a splendid son who bore³ on him the signs of (former) merit. After that she was very dear to the King 115 who granted his son the dignity of uparāja with the (corresponding) revenues.

When the two Ādipādas who were in Pācīnadesa heard 116 of this they said to each other: that is our undoing. They raised an army from both their provinces and large sums of 117 money, then summoned their brother (Dappula) from Rohana, made with him a treaty and took up a position with large 118 forces on the bank of the (Mahāvāluka-)Gaṅgā. When the King heard all that he brought the district chiefs here and there 119 (by kindly speech) over to his side, imprisoned the obdurate and also had a few executed. He appointed a guard in the town, decreed exactly what was to be done and with a large 120 army and taking the Mahesī with him, he occupied an armed

¹ It is not by chance that the royal title is here for the first time awarded to Mahinda. At the beginning of the campaign against Dappula (v. 102) he was still called *Senāpati*. Probably he only underwent the ceremony of consecration (*abhiseka*) after his marriage with the widow of his predecessor, as a queen must also take part therein.

² By her marriage with the King this woman who was inclined to intrigue (v. 87) is kept under his supervision and influence, without the necessity of force being used against her. That distrust of the Queen still existed is shown by v. 120.

³ P. *puññalakkhaṇasamyutam*. The marks on the boy established by the soothsayers point to a favourable *kamma*, to the boy having accumulated abundant merit in former existences, so that he is called to greatness in this new existence.

121 camp at the village of Mahummāra. When the three Ādipādas
 had knowledge of his advance they began a great battle at
 122 Koviḷāragāma. But the King with his strong army destroyed
 their forces. Dappula fled, the two Ādipādas fell.

123 Here also again victorious, the Monarch returned to the
 capital; he practised the royal duties and instituted a great
 124 almsgiving. For the great Bodhi Tree, that prince of trees,
 for the three great cetiyas and for the relics he, full of re-
 125 verence, instituted a great offering. Dappula who had betaken
 himself to Rohaṇa, arriving there, raised troops to fight anew
 126 against the King. The King (wishing) to bring order into
 the land for his children and his children's children assembled
 127 in the Thūpārāma all the bhikkhus and other wise persons
 who knew what is seemly and what is unseemly — he who
 was versed in all the duties of a king, they who were learned
 128 in statecraft. He informed them of the events, and after de-
 creeing everywhere what was to be done throughout the Is-
 129 land and in the capital, he with their consent set out with
 a great army consisting of the four members¹, and provided
 with all resources, and came within a short time to the Māra
 130 mountains². He laid waste the country and immediately there-
 after ascended the mountains. When they saw that in Rohaṇa
 131 they yielded themselves through fear. Hereupon the haughty³
 one made a treaty with Dappula. He received from his hands
 132 elephants, steeds and jewels, decreed the Gāḷhagaṅgā⁴ as the

¹ The four *aṅgāni* of an army are the elephants, the chariot fighters, the riders and the infantry.

² A Maragala (probably = Māragallaka in 55. 26) is situated east of Madampe in the Atakalan Korale of the province of Ratnapura, Medapattu. If we can associate our Mārapabbata with this, Mahinda II must have pushed against Rohaṇa from the N. W. (Ratnapura—Pelmadulla—Madampe). The mountains he ascended would be the range to the South of Rakvana with the Bulutota Pass.

³ P. *sadappaka* contains a pun on Dappula's name.

⁴ The MSS. undoubtedly point to this reading. The name Gāḷhagaṅgā is however, otherwise unknown. One might take it for a name of the Mahaveliganga since *oragaṅga* "land on this side of the Gaṅgā" is always used of the territory on the left bank of this stream. In this

boundary of the rulers of Rohaṇa and kept the land on this side of the river for himself, making thereof royal property.

Thus had the powerful (prince) freed the Island from all 133
briers¹, as sole monarch he entered the capital and lived
therein happily. The mighty King founded the Dāmaṇibhāra- 134
pariveṇa and the Sannīratittha(-vihāra) in Pulatthinagara. In 135
the Abhayagiri he erected the Mahālekha-pariveṇa. Then the
wealthy (prince) having built at a cost of three hundred thou-
sand (kaḥāpaṇas) the superb, many-storeyed Ratanapāsāda², 136
like a second Veṇyaṇṇa³, and having at a cost of sixty thou-
sand (kaḥāpaṇas) had made of pure gold an image of the 137
Master, furnished with a costly diadem of jewels, he held
with all pomp a magnificent dedicatory festival for the 138
consecration of the Pāsāda, and dedicated (to the Buddha)
thereby his whole kingdom⁴. He also had a splendid Bodhi- 139
satta⁵ made of silver and placed the beautiful (statue) in the
Silāmegha⁶ home for bhikkhunis. In the Thūpārāma he made 140
a gold casing of the thūpa and for the sake of diversity he

treaty the Mahaveliganga would then be fixed for the first time as the boundary between Rohaṇa and the territory immediately belonging to the king, being always held as such later on. The Col. Ed. reads *Gāl-habhogaṇ*.

¹ See note to 42. 14.

² A. M. HOCART supposes the Ratanapāsāda to be the very considerable building known by tradition as the "Elephant Stables" whose ruins lie to the west, not far from the Abhayagiri Thūpa (Northern Thūpa), Memoirs ASC. I (1924), p. 1 ff. According to the Mahāvs. it was built by Kaniṭṭhatissa (223—241 A. D.) for the Thera Mahānāga who lived in the Bhūtārāma. It is, however, interesting that in the building which according to HOCART's discovery, lay below the later structure, there was an inscription belonging to Gajabāhu I. (171—193 A. D.) Mahinda II. evidently rebuilt the pāsāda of Kaniṭṭhatissa. A *Ruvan-Mahapāḥa* is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV. WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 215, 218, 226.

³ Skr. *Vajrayanta*, name of Indra's palace.

⁴ For this custom cf. 39. 31 (with note).

⁵ Probably the Bodhisatta *Metteyya*, the only future Buddha whom the Southern Schools mention by name.

⁶ The same convent for nuns is mentioned 49. 25 under the successor of Mahinda II.

141 had strips of silver introduced at regular intervals¹. There
 too he repaired the decayed pāsāda. Instituting a great festi-
 142 val, the discerning (prince) had the Abbidhamma recited by
 the Grand Thera dwelling in the Hemasāli(-vihāra) and
 143 built a bathing tank there for his use. He restored many
 decayed temples of the gods² here and there and had costly
 144 images of the gods fashioned. He gave the brāhmaṇas de-
 licious foods such as the King receives and gave them milk
 145 with sugar to drink in golden goblets. To the lame he gave
 bulls as well as the needful maintenance, and to the Damiḷas
 146 he gave horses, as they would not take cattle. The poor who
 were ashamed to beg he supported in secret, and there were
 none on the Island who were not supported by him according
 147 to their deserts. Pondering how food could be provided for
 cattle, he gave them young corn full of milky juice from a
 148 thousand fields. He also strengthened the weir³ of the
 Kālavāpi tank. Such like meritorious works of his were
 boundless.

149 His son, the Yuvarāja, was then already dead, but there
 was still another son, born to him at the time when he was
 150 Senāpati⁴. The King fearing that the (other) princes might
 kill him, thinking he was fitted for the royal dignity, let him
 151 grow up without care, just as chance might determine. When

¹ P. *thūpassa 'kāsi sovaṇṇakañcukam*. When a thūpa became dilapidated one used to build round it a new casing of brick. Such a casing was called *kañcuka*. Mahinda places a casing of gold and silver plates on the cetiya of the Thūpārāma. In 49. 81 we are told that king Dappula II. also covered the thūpaghara in the same vihāra with golden bricks, and in 50. 35 that the gold plates of the Thūpārāma cetiya were plundered by the Paṇḍu King.

² The Brahmanical religion, Hinduism, had always a place in Ceylon along with Buddhism and was recognised by the reigning princes.

³ P. *vārisaṇpāta*. Cf. 68. 35, 37.

⁴ Hence in the time before his marriage with the Queen Dowager who bore him the son (see v. 115) who was appointed Uparāja and who had in the meantime died. Note that neither of the princes is named. Cf. below note to 49. 1.

the town was surrounded by foes, this prince came to his father and begged from him a fighting elephant. The King 152 gave him his big elephant, terrible as the elephant of Māra¹, and in addition a trained force versed in the use of arms. He spake: now it is time, girt his sword, mounted the mighty 153 elephant, went forth from the town, scattered the whole al- 154 most invincible army and won the victory². When the King saw that he rejoiced and granted him the dignity of senāpati. He (then) betook himself with his forces to (the North Pro- 155 vince) Uttaradesa³ and put to flight the Ādipāda Dappula together with his army. Therefore was Dappula filled with 156 a great hatred towards him. When he met him face to face in the battle of Mahāummāra⁴ he grew furious and hastily 157 spurred on his elephant to kill him. But the other rammed with his own elephant (that of Dappula) and put him to flight. When the King saw that he was highly pleased and as other- 158 wise none was there (suitable) to claim the royal dignity, he conferred on him the office of his Uparāja.

After Mahinda had thus for twenty years⁵ enjoyed the full 159 (dominion over the) Island he entered Heaven to enjoy the fruits of his meritorious actions.

Thus all the delights of fortune won by all kinds of means 160 through bitter suffering disappear in a moment. Truly only fools can find delight therein.

Here ends the forty-eighth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ See note to 41. 48.

² This episode took place in the sortie (described in v. 106 ff.) from Anurādhapura when it was besieged by Dappula.

³ Refers to what is described in v. 112.

⁴ See above v. 120.

⁵ The same number in Pūjāv. and Rājāv.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE FIVE KINGS

- 1 After his father's death the Uparāja (Udaya) became king¹, apt to mete out punishment and favour to foes and friends.
- 2 As Mahesī the King had the clever Senā by name and little children (had he) who were very dear to the king and charming

¹ There is no doubt that the Uparāja meant here is the one mentioned in 48. 158, as the son of Mahinda by a former marriage (48. 149). The name of this prince is, however, nowhere directly mentioned in the Cūlavamsa. The four Sinhalese sources have Udā = Udaya as successor of Mahinda II, and the accuracy of their statement is indirectly confirmed by the Cūlavamsa. The successor of the unnamed king is his son Mahinda (III.). After him comes an Aggabodhi (VIII.) whose relationship with his predecessor is not mentioned. As however, there is mention (49. 44) of his grandfather in a way which clearly points to Mahinda II., he must have been the brother of Mahinda III. and like him, the son of the unnamed king. Now it is said of this Aggabodhi VIII. in 49. 45, that he built a parivena and called it *Udayagga-bodhi* by joining his father's name with his own. Hence the son of Mahinda II. and father of Mahinda III. and Aggabodhi VIII. was called Udaya. In the Sinhalese translation of SUMANGALA and BATUWANTUDAWA, also in WIJESINHA's English translation and in all following publications, as far as I can see, this king gets the name of Dappula. I suppose on the ground of the following consideration: According to 49. 30, the unnamed King built a *Dappulapabbata* and in 50. 80, it is said that King Sena I. finished the *Dappulapabbata* begun in the time of King Dappula. Thus the unnamed king was called Dappula. This in no way upsets the absolutely conclusive argument for the name Udaya; the more so, since the two notices about the Dappulapabbata do not in the least agree. According to 49. 30, it was an *āvāsa* erected (not: begun) by the King himself in the Ambuyyāna-vihāra and granted to the bhikkhus. In 50. 80, it was a structure (vihāra?) commenced by one Mahādeva under King Dappula and finished by King Sena I. This

to look at¹. The dignity of yuvarāja he bestowed on his 3
 eldest son, the others he made ādipādas; of his daughters he
 made queens². Offices the King bestowed on these and those 4
 persons according to their deserts, and his subjects he won
 by the four heart-winning qualities. Now the King had for 5
 some reason or other betaken himself to Maṇihira³, and while
 he sojourned there he heard that the border-land was in re-
 bellion. Thereupon he sent with all haste the Senāpati and 6
 his son with the order to go thither and bring the district
 under his sway. When these had betaken themselves there, 7
 slanderers who were planning strife, by all kinds of idle talk
 estranged the twain from the Ruler of men. Now the twain 8
 began as foes (of the King) to get possession of the country
 for themselves. On tidings of this the King betook himself
 at once to Dūratissa⁴. He slew the twain, took possession 9
 of everything they had, slaughtered all their accomplices, and
 betook himself to Pulatthinagara⁵.

Dappula can very well be Dappula II. (49. 65 ff.), the second predecessor of Sena I. It is a question therefore, whether the two Dappulapabbatas had anything at all to do with each other. If we assume that they had, then the building in 49. 30, is wrongly ascribed to Udaya I or at least its name is due to a mistake. It was erected, as we are told by the more exact and therefore more trustworthy notice in 50. 80, under Dappula II. (W: D. III). Sena finished the building and it probably only then got its name.

¹ The Col. Ed. alters the reading *khuddā puttā* in which all MSS. agree, to *khuddaputtā*. W. translates: "(she) had a little son." I merely point out that in the very next verse several sons and daughters are mentioned.

² W.'s translation "and gave his daughters away to the other governor of the Rohaṇa to be his queens" is quite wrong. We have to do with the granting of titles and honours (*rājimā* acc. pl.). Cf. below 50. 58 and 54. 11.

³ See 42. 34 with note.

⁴ A Dūratissa tank is mentioned 79. 32, among the tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu. The events described evidently take place in the North Province.

⁵ W.'s translation: "returned again to the city of Pulatthi" is inexact; for the text has *gami* not *paccāgam*. It also gives a wrong picture; for Udaya was not in Pulatthinagara before, but in Maṇihira.

10 At that time there lived in the province of Rohaṇa a
 nobleman Mahinda by name, a son of the Ādipāda Dāṭhāsiva
 11 who administered the revenues of the country. He fell
 out with his father and betook himself to the King. When
 the King beheld him he was much pleased and showed him
 12 grace according to his deserts. To strengthen the friendship
 with him he gave him his daughter, by name Devā, and sent
 13 troops to Rohaṇa. Mahinda set out, laid Rohaṇa waste with
 the help of the royal army, drove out his father to Jambudīpa
 and took possession of Rohaṇa.

14 In the Mahāvihāra Udaya¹ built a fine, solid house for
 the distribution of food by allotment². To the Kholakkhiya
 image of the Lord of Sages (Buddha) he granted, for the
 15 outlay on festivals, the village of Mahāmaga, having himself
 offered (to the image) according to his capacity. For the prince
 16 of trees, Vaḍḍhamāna³, he restored the broken down temple
 and granted for its guardianship the wealthy village of Koṭṭhā-
 17 gāma. To the Nīlārāma (monastery) he gave the village of Kālussa
 and to the bronze image (of the Buddha) he gave the village of
 18 Ārāmassa. What was broken down he restored and he had
 images fashioned as well as a great many pāsādas, cetiyas and
 19 vihāras erected⁴. In Pulatthinagara⁵ he built of his great
 pity a large hall for the sick, and likewise in Paḍāvi, each
 20 provided with a maintenance village, also halls for cripples⁶
 and the blind in different places. Judgments which were just
 21 he had entered in books and (these) kept in the royal palace
 because of the danger of violation of justice. To the vihāra
 called Nāgavaḍḍhana he made over several maintenance villages

¹ In the original the name is not mentioned, it simply says he built.

² P. *salākakga*; for *salākā* cf. note to 48. 73.

³ See note to 48. 5.

⁴ I now prefer to add the accusatives *pāsāde* etc. in v. 18 ab to the preceding verse so that they are governed by *kārayi* in 17 d. The new sentence begins then with *Pulatthinagare*.

⁵ Note how Pulatthinagara gains more and more in importance (cf. also 48. 134).

⁶ P. *pīṭhasappin*, lit.: who moves with aid of a chair (*pīṭha*), i. e. a support that one pushes in front of one.

and without annulling ancient charters¹, and observing former decrees, he maintained permanently the great almsgiving² instituted by his father and all the other meritorious works which he carried out without curtailment. The Mahesī, too, of the great King performed many meritorious works. The Queen built on the Cetiya mountain the Katthaka-cetiya³, and having built the Jayasenapabbata(-vihāra), she granted it to the Damiḷa bhikkhu community⁴. She also made over to them the village of Mahummāra. Then she built a home for bhikkhunīs called Silāmegha, and gave it to the (former) home for bhikkhunīs called Silāmegha⁵. Villages which had been sold she redeemed, by giving the (necessary) money to the vihāra and granting the villages to the vihāra in question. Having had all the great trees on the Cetiya mountain clipped⁶, the

¹ P. *lekhe*. We have to do here with deeds of gift, so-called *sannas*, engraven on copperplates, occasionally on silver or gold, or written on palm leaves such as are still preserved in considerable numbers. H. C. P. BELL, Report on the Kégalla-District, p. 91. This passage is probably the oldest confirmation of the custom.

² See above 48. 123-4.

³ In contradiction to all the MSS. the Col. Ed. alters the name into *Kaṇṭakam cetiyam*, apparently merely for the sake of getting hold of a familiar Pāli word (*kaṇṭaka* "thorn").

⁴ Very doubtful. The MSS. are all corrupt. They read *dāmissadā*, have thus a syllable too little. If my restoration *dāmiḷassadā* is right — it is at any rate nearer the MSS. than the *gāmiḷassadā* of the Col. Ed. — it would mean that also Damiḷas in Ceylon were Buddhists, but that the bhikkhus of this nationality formed a special group.

⁵ We must assume that the old convent of this name mentioned 48. 139, had fallen into decay. The Queen built a new convent, gave it the same name and granted it to the bhikkhunīs who lived in the former one, as their home.

⁶ That *chedayitvāna* here means "after he had felled" is not plausible to me. But the clipping of the branches to facilitate the putting on of the flags and to enable them to be seen is quite intelligible. This makes the trees into votive "rag-trees". For analogies s. R. ANDRÉE, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (1878), p. 58 ff.; MANNHARDT, *Wald- und Feldkulte*² (1904), I. p. 219 ff. and passim; v. SCHRODER, *Arische Religion* (1916), II. p. 282.

King¹ gave brightly coloured flags and streamers as offerings.
 28 In the domain of the Pucchārāma² (-vihāra) he restored the
 pāsāda and for it he made out of the poor maintenance vil-
 29 lage of Ussānaviṭṭhi a rich one. The vihāra Giribhaṇḍa³
 which had gone to rack and ruin he restored as it had been
 formerly, and granted maintenance villages to the bhikkhus
 30 dwelling there. In the Ambuyyāna (-vihāra) he built the dwel-
 ling house Dappulapabbata⁴ and made it over, provided with
 31 the four necessities to three hundred bhikkhus. Having built
 the beautiful monastery Nilagalla, he had a canal laid out
 which made fruitful much country and granted it (to the
 32 monastery). In the Arikāri-vihāra he renewed what was broken
 down and built (there) a house for the distribution of food
 by allotment, and a pāsāda which was formerly missing.
 33 In Vāhadīpa⁵ he built the Senaggabodhipabbata (-pāsāda) and
 in the three fraternities he, the deeply learned, had the sa-
 34 cred texts recited. To those among the bhikkhus who were
 engaged in the hardest studies⁶ he presented⁷ bronze alms-
 bowls and he left undone nothing of that which one calls a
 35 meritorious work. To widowed women of good family he gave
 ornaments and when they wanted food he handed them food

¹ It is uncertain whether the works enumerated in 27-30 are to be ascribed to the Queen or the King. In 26 we have *sā* as subject, but in 31 so. I prefer to assume the King as author, the services of the Queen being usually devoted to the bhikkhunīs.

² The Col. Ed. changes the name, against the MSS., into Pubbārāma. See note to 50. 69.

³ Mhvs. 34. 81 speaks of a great festivity instituted by King Mahādāṭṭhikamahānāga (66-78 A. D) on the Cetiya mountain (Mihintale), which received the name *Giribhaṇḍa-mahāpūjā*. This name is probably connected with that of the vihāra.

⁴ See below 50. 80 and above note to 49. 1. ⁵ See note to 48. 65.

⁶ *P. suganthike* from *gantha*, skr. *grantha*. Cf. *ganthika-bhikkhu*, Dhammapadattāṭṭhakathā ed. H. C. NORMAN, I. 156². See RHYDS DAVIDS and STEDÉ, PTS. P. D. s. v. *ganthika*. W.'s translation "compelled the priests to accept his offering of alms-bowls" is impossible. For that it would have to be *bhikkhū* instead of the genitive *bhikkhūnaṃ* of the text.

⁷ Lit.: he let them receive (*gaṇhāpesi*).

at night. To the cattle he gave young corn, to the crows 36
and other birds rice, and to the children grain with honey
and syrup. Thus the King with his attendants performed 37
meritorious works, and after enjoying the earth, he had to
leave it after five years¹.

Hereupon his son Mahinda by name became sovereign 38
of the Sihalas, a nobleman, equipped with excellence of every
kind. Known all the earth round by the name of Dhammi- 39
kasilāmegha², he was a light of the true doctrine², a banner
of the doctrine³, to whom the true doctrine³ was the highest,
and he performed without fail every work that followed the 40
right³ path and which had been done by former kings, but
he avoided wrong. To allow of repairs being made at all 41
times on the Ratanapāsāda⁴ he granted it the Getṭhumba
canal⁵. What was ruined he rebuilt, and performed (other) 42
meritorious works. After reigning for four years⁶ he went
to his death.

Aggabodhi then raised the umbrella of dominion in the 43
capital, preparing unremittingly welfare and happiness for all
creatures. He instituted a sacrificial festival for the relics, 44
worthy of all the virtues of the Master, and a great festival
for the image of the Sambuddha set up by his grandfather⁷.
He, the Ruler of men, built the Udayaggabodhi-pariveṇa, 45

¹ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the same.

² In Pūjāv. and Rājāv. the king is called Haligāravil Iskābō
Mihindu, in Rājaratn. and Nik-s. Sōmihindu.

³ Three times here the ambiguous word *dhamma* occurs in the text;
for "wrong" *adhamma*. The compiler paraphrases the adjunct *dharmika*
in Mahinda's *biruda*.

⁴ See note to 48. 135.

⁵ Whose waters could only be employed for tillage by payment of
a tax, otherwise accruing to the king, to the inmates of the Ratanapāsāda.

⁶ Pūjāv. the same; Rājāv. 7 years.

⁷ Without doubt what is meant here is the golden statue mentioned
48. 137 as having been made by Mahinda II. This proves that Agga-
bodhi VIII., whose relationship to his predecessor is not mentioned in
any of our sources, was a grandson of Mahinda II., a son of Udaya I.
and brother of his predecessor Mahinda III.

46 choosing for it his father's name¹ and his own. Further, he built the pariveṇa² called Bhūta, furnished with (the needful) revenues and granted it to his own teacher and three hundred
47 bhikkhus. To the Rājasāla(-vihāra)³ he granted the village of Cūlavāpiyagāma and two villages to the Kātūla and Malla-
48 vāta⁴ vihāras. On the Uposatha days he forbade the bringing in of fish, meat and intoxicating drinks into the centre of the
49 town. When he had done reverence to the bhikkhus or the cetiyas, he used, when leaving, to clean his feet thoroughly,
50 that no sand might be lost. All actions leading to Heaven and to deliverance, all those actions he performed with faith in the three (sacred) objects⁵.

51 The King found pleasure in the serving of his mother day and night. He went to wait on her already early in the
52 morning, rubbed her head with oil, perfumed the parts moist
53 with sweat⁶, cleaned her nails and bathed her carefully. He clad her himself in a new garment, pleasant to the touch,
54 and the cast-off raiment he took and cleaned it himself. With the water therefrom he sprinkled his own head together with the diadem, and worshipped her perfectly with fragrant flo-
55 wers as a cetiya. After making obeisance before her three times, and walking, with right side facing, round her and

¹ The name Udaya. See note to 49. 1. The vihāra Udā-Aggbō is mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda IV. WICKREMASINGHE EZ. I. p. 216, 221, 227.

² A Bhūtārāma is mentioned already under Kaniṭṭhatissa (223-241 A. D.). Here we have probably to do with a new building in this monastery.

³ According to my conjecture, Rājasālāya instead of rājā sālāya. The word sālā alone says too little.

⁴ Mallavāta-vihāra, built according to 48. 70, by Aggabodhi VII.

⁵ See note to 37. 214 and 41. 55.

⁶ W.'s translation "cleanse her body" is too general. The verb *ubbatteti* is used of rubbing in with some kind of perfumed substance. To the passages cited by RHYS DAVIDS and STEDÉ, I may add Dīghanik. II. 324^{14, 16}; Vinaya ed. OLDENBERG III. 329⁹; Thūpavaṃsa ed. Col. p. 39¹¹; Mahāv. Tīkā, ed. Col. p. 132⁹. The word *jallikā* means "sweat drops" just as the more frequent *rajojalla* must be translated by "dirt and sweat". Cf. *sedajallikā* Sn. 198 (Rh. D. and St.).

giving her attendants raiment and the like to their heart's content, he offered her delicious food with his own hand, 56 partook himself of what she left and strewed thereof on his head. To her attendants he gave the best food such as was 57 meant for the king, and when he had put in order her chamber, fragrant with sweet odours, he carefully prepared 58 there with his own hand her couch, washed her feet, rubbed her gently with fragrant oil, sat by her rubbing her limbs and sought to make her sleep¹. Then with right side facing, 59 he walked round her bed, did reverence three times in the right way, ordered slaves or servants as guard and without 60 turning his back on her, went out. At a spot where she could no longer see him, he halted and three times again did reverence. Then happy at his action, and ever thinking of 61 her, he went home². As long as she lived he served her in this way.

Once he addressed one of his slaves with the word "slave"; 62 to make up to him for it, he let him use³ the same word towards himself. The wise (prince) made his mother offer 63 his own person as a gift to the bhikkhu community, then paid down a sum equal to his own value and was thus again a free man. Thus holding meritorious works as the highest, 64 he did good to the Island and went after (a reign of) eleven years⁴ to the world of the gods.

¹ P. *katvā niddaṃ upecca taṃ*, a highly curious construction. *niddaṃ upecca* would mean "after she had fallen asleep". By the addition of *katvā taṃ* the causative meaning is given "after he had brought about that she fell asleep". See Cūlav. ed., Introd. p. XV.

² In the original this whole section from v. 55 to 61 forms one sentence. The fin. verb *yāti* is in the pres. to express continued repetition. All the preceding verbs are gerunds.

³ W.'s translation "it grieved him so that he himself sought to obtain his servant's forgiveness" is too vague and overlooks the point, namely, that he permits his servant to call him by the same contemptuous epithet which he himself had used to him.

⁴ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. have the same. In Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. the king is called Mādī-Akbō.

65 His younger brother Dappula¹ now became king after
 his death. He kept closely to the conduct of the earlier kings.
 66 At that time the sons of the ruler of Rohaṇa, Mahinda by
 name, driven out by their father, came to the King, their
 67 maternal uncle². He beholding them and hearing their story,
 gave them a strong force and sent them away to fight with
 68 their father, concerned for the welfare of his kinsmen. But
 when the ruler of Rohaṇa, Mahinda, recognised the situation,
 he began on his part to make war on them with strong forces.
 69 The twain had to retreat and after appointing a commander
 over the army, they returned to the King and abode there
 70 (in Anurādhapura) serving him. Their father was content
 therewith, but in combat with another kinsman he was slain
 71 and this kinsman too lost his life. Hereupon the King gave
 his sister's son Kittaggabodhi his daughter Devā to wife, gifted
 72 with all virtues. He (Kittaggabodhi) appointed (his brother)
 Dappula to the king's service and betook himself at the head
 73 of an army division to Rohaṇa. He became sovereign of Ro-
 haṇa and favoured by every kind of good fortune, took up
 his abode there increasing in sons and daughters.
 74 The King had the ruined temple of the Prince of Trees
 newly and durably built and gilded³. At the festival of his
 75 consecration he instituted a sacrificial feast which he set

¹ In accordance with the old Sinhalese law of inheritance three sons of Udaya I. reign one after the other. According to this law Dappula's legitimate successor would have been the son of his eldest brother Mahinda III. But cf. below 49. 84 and 50. 4.

² Their father Mahinda according to 49. 10—12, was married to Devā the daughter of Udaya I., a sister of Dappula II. The quarrel in Rohaṇa about the succession described there, of the details of which we are ignorant, thus continue. It was the policy of the Sinhalese king to exploit these to strengthen their position in Rohaṇa. Note the similarity of the events, as described in 49. 10 ff. and in 49. 66 ff., especially the repetition of the name Devā.

³ The construction of the sentence is not quite simple. W. translates it "the king rebuilt the old house of the Bodhi-tree, so that it may

arranged that it was fully worthy of his own royal dignity and the perfection of the Master (Buddha). He rebuilt the ruined 76 pāsāda in the Hatthikucchi-vihāra, the Vāhadīpa monastery and the Lāvarāvapabbata(-vihāra)¹. For the vihāra called Jeta he 77 made a golden image of the Master and on its delivery to the Bodhi temple² he held a sacrificial festival of unimaginable splendour. Every year he instituted in the Island a gift of 78 raiment. He enlarged the Mahāpālī Hall, and eager for the good of the refectory he dispensed as much (rice) as tallied 79 with the weight of his body³. Ruined buildings he restored, he kept to the conduct of former kings without neglecting anything. He had a discerning senāpati by name Vajira. This 80 (Vajira) built the Kacchavāla monastery for the Pamsukūlins. In the Thūpārāma the King covered the temple of the thūpa 81 with golden bricks in the right way and put in doors of gold⁴. After the Ruler of men had thus reigned sixteen years⁵, he 82 went to that land whither all beings must go.

This King having gone to the world of the gods, Agga- 83 bodhi (by name) had the drums of dominion beaten the self-same day⁶. His father (Dappula) to safeguard the succession 84

¹ Very doubtful, as all our MSS. are corrupt. For the first two names mentioned here, cf. 48. 65 with the notes.

² We must assume that it was a figure seated in the attitude of meditation, and that it was placed at the foot of the Bodhi tree, just as the Buddha sitting under such a tree, received the highest enlightenment.

³ I am inclined now to assume that the words *dhattaggaṃ avalokkya* in 78 belong to the following and not to the preceding.

⁴ *Chādayi* is here probably wrong, as also *kārayi* in the Col. Ed. It will perhaps be best to retain the reading of the MSS. *pādayi* (*padeti* = skr. *pra-dā* treated after the analogy of the causative, like *kāreti*).

⁵ So Pūjāv.; Rājāv.: 12 years. According to Rājāv. and Rājaratn. an incursion of the Damīlas took place in this reign. They plundered Anurādhapura and carried away much valuable booty.

⁶ The original has *tadā ahū*. This seems to give no sense, so in the edition (of the text) I have remarked at this passage: "we expect something like *tadatrajo*." I am inclined now to think that we have here an etymological puerility, and that for the sake of the metre, *tadahū* has been split up into *tadā ahū*.

for his sons, had not made¹ his brother's son, Mahinda by
 85 name, ādipāda. As the latter could not bring himself to show
 reverence to his younger kinsman, he fled in his confusion to
 86 the other coast² When he (the King) heard of their
 arrival he sent out a strong force gave them battle and seized
 their heads³.

87 In the monastic fraternities he ordered everything that
 had to be done and throughout the Island he caused the pre-
 88 vention of evil action. The bhikkhus in the smaller vihāras⁴
 used to receive rice gruel as medicine in the Mahāvihāra.
 89 When the King heard of it he was displeased; he granted (the
 small vihāras) the important village of Kaṇṭhapitṭhi, (the village
 90 of) Yābālagāma, (the village of) Telagāma and a well-filled canal
 and gave orders that the bhikkhus should receive their rice
 gruel in (their own) vihāra. After that they all received the
 91 gruel gratefully (in their vihāra). On the Island he had the
 drums beaten and summoned the beggars, distributing to them
 gold as much as they wanted, for three days.

92 Having performed these and other meritorious works, the
 King went after three years⁵ to behold the reward for his
 faith in the three (sacred) objects, driving, as it were, in a
 heavenly chariot to death.

¹ Against the law of succession. See above note to v. 65.

² Hence to southern India. The word refers to Mahinda's inner
 conflict. He sees no way of escape except by flight to the mainland.

³ The *tesaṃ* at the beginning of the verse is surprising, since only
 one Mahinda was mentioned before. W. seeks to make the plural in-
 telligible by supplementing (v. 85) "with all his brethren". But that
 is not in the text. Besides, according to 50. 4, it is the succeeding
 king, Sena I. who kills Mahinda. I think we must assume a gap in
 our text. The missing part (perhaps only a single verse) dealt with
 friends and adherents of Mahinda who fought at first for his rights and
 were defeated by Aggabodhi.

⁴ What is meant are the smaller vihāras of Anurādhapura in contrast
 to the three great nikāyas.

⁵ So Pūjāv. In Rājāv. and Rājaratn. Aggabodhi IX. is not named.
 His successor Sena is also omitted. Nik.-s. calls him Pāsulu-Akbō.

Thus all corporeal beings are impermanent. Even the all- 93
wise Buddhas are doomed to die. Hence a prudent man giving up (everything) that proceeds from the lust of being, will keep his thoughts fixed on nirvana¹.

Here ends the forty-ninth chapter, called The Five Kings, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ P. *buddho vibhave bhareyya*. Cf. skr. *budh* with acc. or gen. "to direct the mind to something". In P. the loc. is used instead of the gen.

CHAPTER L

THE ONE KING

1 Hereupon his younger brother Sena¹ raised the umbrella
 (of dominion) in the town, abounding in riches, who looked
 2 on all creatures as on a dear son. He adhered to the con-
 duct of former kings in accordance with tradition, and he per-
 3 formed also pious actions before unheard of. Towards bhikkhus,
 bhikkhunīs, his kinsfolk and (the other) islanders, towards
 fishes, four-footed beasts and the birds he fulfilled every duty.
 4 He had Mahinda who had betaken himself to the opposite
 shore², slain by agents. In such wise he cleared his path of
 5 all who could dispute with him the royal dignity. He in-
 stituted a great almsgiving for needy beggars, to bhikkhus
 and brāhmanas (he dispensed) delicious food such as the king
 6 receives. He had three younger brothers: Mahinda, Kassapa
 7 and Udaya. Of these Mahinda was the Yuvarāja who, obedient
 to him, served him in fitting manner. The Queen, Saṃghā
 by name, was the queen-consort of the King.
 8 Once when the King had betaken himself for pleasure to
 a port on the sea, the Ādipāda Udaya who had remained be-
 9 hind in the town, took to wife the daughter of the wife of
 his maternal uncle by name Nālā who was under the King's
 10 protection³, and took her with him to Pulatthinagara. Without

¹ Sena I. is called *Matvaḷasen* in the Nik.-s.

² See above 49. 85-86 with the notes.

³ P. *rakkhantīm* is to be understood as pres. part. of the passive *rakkhati* = skr. *rakṣyate*. The name Nālā is contained in that of the monastery Nālārāma which according to the inscription of Mahakalatteva (E. MÜLLER AIC. nr. 110; p. 77, 112) the Grand Scribe Sena (cf. 52. 33) built in honour of his mother and named after her. This Nālā however, cannot well be as WICKREMASINGHE assumes (EZ. I. 154, n. 7), the daughter of Mahinda of Rohaṇa and of Devā; since Devā was not the *mātulānī*, but the *pitucchā* of Udaya.

being wroth with him the King made with him an inviolable treaty, sent the Mahādīpāda (Mahinda) to him, quieted him and brought him hither again¹. Thus the princes were again 11 at one and lived sheltering the Order (of the Buddha) and the laity, in perfect peace.

Once later came the Paṇḍu King² with a great force from 12 Jambudīpa and began to take possession of the Island. When 13 the King heard thereof he sent a strong army against him, but owing to the discord among the high dignitaries, the prince, the Paṇḍu king, found opportunity to get a firm footing; he laid waste the whole of Uttaradesa (the North 14 Province) and occupied an armed camp in Mahātālita-gāma. The many Damiḷas who dwelt (scattered) here and there, went 15 over to his side. Thereby he gained great power. The great 16 army which had gathered there (in Mahātālita-gāma) began war with the King; the Paṇḍu King went into the field riding on the back of his elephant. The Damiḷa army who beheld 17 the face of its leader, was full of vigour and determination, and ready to lay down its life for him. But the Island army 18 as its leaders were absent, was without zeal; it scattered in fight and fled in all directions. The great army of the Paṇḍu 19 King broke in at the same moment crushing in onset the people, like the hosts of Māra. When the King heard of the 20 dispersion of his army, he took all his valuable property, left the town and turned towards Malaya. Thereupon the Yuvarāja, 21 Mahinda, mounted his elephant; but when he saw in battle the flight of his army, he thought: "Alone it is impossible 22 for me to kill all these; but death at the hands of these base people is not beautiful; therefore is death by my own hand 23 to be preferred" and sitting on the back of his elephant, he cut his throat. When his men saw that, many of them like- 24

¹ From the standpoint of the author: to Anurādhapura.

² The Paṇḍus or Pāṇḍiyas were a Dravidian people inhabiting the southernmost part of the Indian peninsula. Their capital was at first Korkai, later Madhurā. Cf. V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, p. 335 ff. For the name of the Pāṇḍiya king who invaded Ceylon, cf. H. W. CODRINGTON, *HC.*, p. 52.

wise cut their throats and when the Damiḷa army beheld this
 25 it rejoiced with exceeding joy. When the Ādipāda Kassapa
 surveyed all that, just at it was, he mounted his favourite
 26 horse, armed, weapon in hand, and came alone as far as the
 27 Abhaya-vihāra¹. Even as a supanna when it catches a snake
 breaks through² her watery abode, so he broke through this
 great army by storm. He forced the whole (army) to retreat
 28 and remained himself unscathed³. His one horse looked as if
 it were a line of steeds. When he saw none following him
 29 he thought: "What would it avail if I alone (by my death)
 were to fulfil the wish of the foe? meanwhile I shall, if I
 30 remain in life, be able to fulfil my own wish. Therefore it
 is right if I retreat". Therewith the great hero broke fear-
 31 lessly through the great army and escaped to Koṇḍivāta. The
 great army of the Paṇḍu King thereupon took the town.
 32 They showed the Yuvarāja's head to the Paṇḍu King. When
 he saw it he had (the corpse) burned and gave orders for the
 observance at the pyre of all the ceremonies prescribed by
 the Paṇḍus for their kings.

33 The Paṇḍu King took away all valuables in the treasure
 house of the King and plundered what there was to plunder
 34 in vihāra and town. In the Ratanapāsāda the golden image
 of the Master (Buddha)⁴ the two jewels which had been set

¹ Abhayagiri-vihāra. The pursuing enemy had thus already approached the northern gate of the town.

² The words *ogāhuvā vidārayi* belong to both objects *mahāsenam* and *sakulālayam*. In W.'s translation the simile is not rightly grasped or at least blurred. For Kassapa's breaking through the hostile army the expression *o-gāh* "to dive" has been chosen with reference to the simile. The Supannas are mythical birds griffinlike. They are considered the deadly enemies of the Nāgas. In this passage these are described as *bhujāṅgā*, snake-like dwellers in the sea.

³ Lit.: preserved (or protected) himself well. Note in *sugopayi* the rarer association of *su* with a finite verb, as shortly before, in v. 4 *suvisodhesi*.

⁴ W. has not understood the passage aright, nor I myself in my edition (but cf. the corrections and additions in vol. II). It deals with the golden image set up by Mahinda II (48. 135 ff.) in the Ratanapāsāda which he had built in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. See also 51. 22 ff. We must therefore read *Pāsāde Ratane sabbasovaṇṇam satthubimbakam*.

as eyes in the stone (image of the) Prince of Sages, likewise 35
the gold plates on the *cetiya*¹ in the *Thūpārāma*, and the
golden images here and there in the *vihāras* — all these he 36
took and made the Island of *Laṅkā* deprived of her valuables
leaving the splendid town in a state as if it had been plundered
by *yakkhas*².

The King (Sena) had posted guards at various places along 37
the highway and in great alarm had taken up his abode at
the confluence of the two rivers³. In order to make a treaty 38
with the *Sihala* ruler, the *Paṇḍu* King now sent dignitaries
thither. When the *Sihala* sovereign saw them and heard 39
their message, he agreed to everything, bestowed favours on
the ambassadors to their hearts' content, presented them with 40
a couple of elephants as well as with all his jewels and sent
messengers to the *Paṇḍu* King, thinking of his own advantage.
When the *Paṇḍu* King saw all this he was highly pleased, 41
handed over the capital on the same day to the messengers,
evacuated the town and betook himself at once to the seaport. 42
There he embarked and returned to his country.

Thereupon the Ruler *Silāmegha* (Sena)⁴ entered the town, 43
brought the Island again to its former condition and lived in
peace. His second brother⁵, the nobleman *Udaya* by name, 44

¹ Cf. on this 48. 140, as well as 49. 81.

² By *yakkha* are meant the prehistoric inhabitants of Ceylon whom *Vijaya* found when he migrated to the island. They were believed to have magic powers, hence the word means superhuman, demoniacal beings generally. Ethnologists consider the *Vāddās* as remnants of these aborigines. Cf. the monograph of A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Yakṣas*, *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 80, Nr. 4. Washington 1928.

³ The *maḥāmagga* is probably the highway which led from *Anurādhapura* to *Pulaththinagara* and from here to *Rohapa*. *Malayābhīmukho gāto* above in v. 20 evidently gives merely the general direction in which Sena retreated. The "confluence of the two rivers" where he took up a waiting position must be the point of junction of the *Mahaveliganga* and *Ambanganga* where he commanded the two fords: *Dastota* (*Sa-hassatittha*) and *Mahagantota* (*Kacchakatittha*).

⁴ *Silāmegha* is the surname of Sena. Cf. note to 44. 83.

⁵ After *Mahinda's* death (v. 23) his brother *Kassapa* became heir to the throne. But as he was slain by the *Paṇḍu* King according to v. 46 the youngest brother of Sena I., *Udaya* by name, took up his position, but he died very soon so that the succession passed to *Kassapa's* eldest son.

he appointed mahādīpāda and assigned him for his revenues
 45 (the Southern Province) Dakkhinadesa. But he, after performing meritorious works as was meet, was seized after a short time with illness and fell into the jaws of death¹.

46 The Ādīpāda Kassapa while he sojourned in Pulatthinagara, was slain by the Paṇḍu King who had ordered it.
 47 Now this Ādīpāda Kassapa by name, had four able sons
 48 endowed with the marks (of future) power. Of these the first was the prince Sena by name, a hero, a man of great energy, capable of bearing the burden of the royal dignity, an eminent
 49 man. To him the King assigned in accordance with the custom the dignity of mahādīpāda and assigned him for his revenues Dakkhinadesa together with the (needful) troops.

50 The ruler of Rohaṇa, Kittagabodhi, had four sons and
 51 three attractive, charming daughters. His eldest son, the nobleman by name Mahinda, was murdered by his father's sister who took the country with the royal treasure for her-
 52 self. The three brothers enraged at the murder of their brother² took their three sisters and betook themselves to the
 53 King (Sena). When the King who greatly loved them, in deepest pity³ beheld them, he brought them all up full of love in the best way possible as if they were royal princes⁴.
 54 Then the Ruler of men sent the eldest of them, Kassapa by
 55 name, with forces: "Take possession of thy country, go!". He

¹ According to the inscription mentioned above (note to 50. 9) the marriage of Udaya with Nālā produced a son. He is there called Mahālā-Sen. That is the Sena of 52. 33, who under his cousin Kassapa IV., evidently at an advanced age, enjoyed the dignity of Mahālekha. But as according to v. 6, Kassapa was older than Udaya, his sons succeeded before those of Udaya.

² The MSS. point to the reading *bhātughātake*. But since the word refers to a female, S. and B. in conjunction with one MS. read *-ghātane*. The MS. S 6 originally had this reading, but it is corrected to *-ghātake*.

³ P. *dayā mukho*. At the end of a compound *mukha* is used in the sense of *padhāna*.

⁴ Not as W. has it "as if they were the offspring of the gods." The children of the house of Rohaṇa are treated as if they belonged to the family of the reigning king (*deva*).

set forth, slew her, brought the whole of Rohaṇa into his power and took up his abode there without mishap. Then he fetched his two brothers Sena and Udaya, shared with them the country and dwelt with them. But King Sena brought up the maidens in a most excellent way and when the three princesses were grown up, gifted and beautiful as divine nymphs, he gave the one called Saṃghā to whom he assigned the rank of queen¹, to the Uparāja Sena to wife, with large revenues worthy² of the royal dignity. The younger brother of the Uparāja, Mahinda by name, was endowed with all virtues, practised in all sciences. To him the King gave the two princesses, called Tissā and Kittī, with revenues which he deemed fitting. Thus the King showed favour to his kindred according to (their) deserts. By favours such as almsgiving and the like he won the people for himself. Endowed with the ten qualities of kings³, he enjoyed (while) performing meritorious works, the earth. For the Pamsukūlika bhikkhus⁴ he built a monastery on the Aritṭha mountain⁵, erected as if by magic, and endowed it with large revenues. He granted it also an equipment without flaw, worthy of a king, many helpers of the monastery and slaves as work people. In the Jetavana-vihāra the Sovereign whose aspiration was directed to the Buddha step, erected⁶ a pāsāda of several storeys. After

¹ It is possible to refer *ṭhapetvā rājimāhāne* to all three princesses. In 49. 3, we already had a case of the king granting the title of *rājimā* to princesses in the same way as that of *ādīpāda* to princes. Cf. further 54. 11, as also 60. 84.

² The alteration of *sarikkhakaṃ* which all the MSS. have, into *parikkhakaṃ* is unnecessary. The skr. *sadṛśa* can also mean "suited to, worthy of". The context demands an adjectival attribute to *mahābhogaṃ*.

³ See note to 37. 107.

⁴ Cf. above note to 47. 66.

⁵ The Ritigala (see 44. 86 with note) is extremely rich in ruins. Cf. ASC. 1893 (= XXXVIII, 1904, p. 8 ff.). Then Plans and Plates for Annual Report 1893 (Colombo 1914). A. M. Hocart identifies the monastery built by Sena with the ruins of Banda Pokuna. See Memoirs ASC. I. 44.

⁶ A pun in the original on *bhūmi* in its three meanings of earth, platform or step and storey. Note the Mahāyānist idea of striving after the attainment of future Buddhahood. It occurs here for the first time in the Mahāvamsa.

bringing thither¹ a wholly golden image of the Victor (Buddha) that he had had made and having fixed large revenues for the
 67 pāsāda, he let bhikkhus take up their abode there. In the same
 vihāra he had the splendid pāsāda in the Mahāpariveṇa re-
 68 built, which had been destroyed by fire. In the Abhayuttara-
 vihāra he built the Viraṅkurārāma² and granted it to the
 69 bhikkhus of the Mahāsaṃgha³ and of the Thera School. The
 Pubbārāma⁴ also furnished with the four necessities, he built
 70 together with his royal consort Saṃghā. Likewise together
 with her the discerning Monarch built in the Mahāvihāra, the
 71 dwelling-house Saṃghasena⁵ with large revenues. Having had
 made of pure gold a reliquary for the hair relic⁶ he instituted
 a great sacrificial festival. The sublime (prince) dedicated to
 72 it the kingly dignity. To the Cetiya mountain he assigned
 the productive Kāṇavāpi tank, and to the bhikkhus dwelling
 73 on the Island he had the three garments⁷ distributed. In Pu-
 latthinagara he built at the Thusavāpi⁸ tank the Senaggabodhi
 74 shrine, endowed with villages and monastery helpers, and here

¹ Thus I understand *vaḍḍhetvā*. Cf. for the meaning Cūlav. ed. II, Index of Words, s. v. *vaḍḍheti*.

² Is mentioned in a Vessagiri inscription of King Dappula IV. (V) WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 23 ff.

³ For the Mahāsaṃghikā who branched off from the Theravādins (Mhvs. 5. 4-5), at the first Council, s. M. WALLESEER, Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus, p. 24 ff.

⁴ If above in 49. 28, one reads with the Col. Ed. Pubbārāma instead of Pucchārāma, which however, is contrary to the MSS., then in our passage it is only a question of rebuilding the monastery. Cf. EZ. I. 183.

⁵ This is probably the *Saṅgsen-aram* mentioned in the inscription of Kassapa V. which was restored by this king together with the Maricavāṭṭi-thūpa. WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 41 ff.

⁶ The relic was brought to Ceylon by Silākāla. See Mhvs. 39. 49 ff.

⁷ See note to 41. 29.

⁸ W. follows the reading *vāpiyo* of the Col. Ed. and translates accordingly: "with the help of the great tank Thusavāpi he built several smaller tanks . . . and he also built" etc. In this case however, a *ca* in the second line of the verse would be indispensable.

beside this building¹, he built a large eating-hall where good food was distributed, as well as for all (the bhikkhus) an eating-hall in the Mahānettapabbata(-vihāra). He also had a 75 hall for the sick built in the west of the town and for the destitute he made an offering of rice soup with the solid food (belonging thereto). For the Pamsukūlika-bhikkhus the sublime 76 (prince) built a separate kitchen and dutifully gave them permanent support. When he was (still) Mahādīpāda he built 77 in the Kappūra-pariveṇa and in the Uttarāḷha(-pariveṇa)² single cells which bore his name. Three times the wealthy 78 prince dispensed alms equal in weight to his body and yet other meritorious works of divers kinds were performed by the King. His royal consort, Saṃghā by name, had built 79 in the Uttara-vihāra³ a dwelling-house called Mahindasena and let bhikkhus take up their abode there. The charming 80 Dappulapabbata-vihāra⁴ was begun in the time of the wise King Dappula by Mahādeva, and the Kassaparājaka(-vihāra) 81 by the young prince called Kassapa — both these unfinished (buildings) the same King (Sena) completed⁵. His Senāpati 82 Bhadda built the pariveṇa, called Bhaddasenāpati, endowed with slaves and revenues. The dignitary Uttara built in the 83 Abhayuttara-vihāra the dwelling house, called Uttarasena, excellently provided⁶ with the (four) necessities. In the same 84 place Vajira (by name) built the dwelling house Vajirasenaka, and Rakkhasa (by name) built the dwelling-house, called Rakkhasa.

¹ I supplement *tasmim yeva* not with *nagare*, as does W., but with *āvāse* from 73 c to get the antithesis to *sabbesaṃ* in 74 c. The first Mahāpālī hall belonged specially to the Senaggabodhi house, the second was for general use.

² Of the first we know from 45. 29 that it belonged to the Abhayagiri-vihāra; the second pariveṇa is mentioned again 51. 75.

³ I. e. Abhayuttara-vihāra = Abhayagiri-vihāra.

⁴ Cf. with the verse the note to 49. 1.

⁵ By Dārukassapa is probably meant the younger brother of the king whose death is announced in v. 46. W. takes it for the name of a minister. For Kassaparājaka s. note to 52. 45.

⁶ Pun on the word *uttara*, occurring 4 times in the verse.

- 85 Thereupon after twenty years¹ the King who had ever
 fixed his gaze on the highest, while sojourning in Pu-
 latthinagara, pondering over the misdeeds of the Paṇḍu King,
 86 and in sense making way² for the hero Sena, had to leave
 the Island and depart as a lamp (goes out) which the storm
 has quenched.
- 87 Riches are fleeting together with life, how much more so
 are even kindred and friends. Behold the King who forsaken
 fell into the terrible jaws of death.

Here ends the fiftieth chapter, called 'The One King',
 in the Mahāvamśa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
 of the pious.

¹ So also Pūjāv.

² P. *dadanto vya Senassa sūrasāvāsaram*. He leaves to his successor
 the possibility and the opportunity to take vengeance on the Paṇḍus.

CHAPTER LI

THE HISTORY OF THE TWO KINGS

After Sena had thus died the Mahādipāda Sena by name 1 performed all that there was to do¹ for him in pious manner, then with army and train he entered the town and was king over 2 the earth's circle. Showing conduct like that of the kings of the first age of the world, pious, wealthy, heroic, generous, 3 impartial, succouring the needy, equipped with large revenues, with army and train, he represented in his spotless fame and 4 his splendid ability, as it were, a union of the sun and the moon: richly gifted with unblemished qualities, practising every 5 kind of virtue, devoid of all sin, weary of the cycle of births, his gaze fixed on the highest. Samghā who was his consort, 6 he consecrated Mahesī and gave her a dowry according to the custom. His younger brother, the able Mahinda by name, he 7 made uparāja, assigning him (the Southern Province) Dakkhiṇadesa. As however, he had committed an offence in the wo- 8 men's apartments, he disappeared on being discovered by the King, and betook himself with wife and child unrecognised to Malaya.

At that time the King's consort Samghā bore him a 9 son who embodied², as it were, in himself the princely form

¹ Namely the prescribed funeral ceremonies. Sena II. is called in Pūjāv, Rājāv, Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. Mugayin-Sen. In Pūjāv. he is erroneously called brother (*mal*) of his predecessor.

² For Panāda or Mahāpanāda see note to 37. 62. It cannot be a question here of son of Panāda, as such does not otherwise occur, but of Panāda himself when he was prince. We must thus read *kumārārūpaṇi* and this belongs to *Panādassa* as well as to *attano*. For Mahāpanāda as prince see Jātaka IV, p. 323 ff. Suruci-Jātaka.

10 of Panāda. When the King beheld the newly-born he was
 overjoyed, as Suddhodana over Siddhattha born in the Lumbinī
 11 garden, (thinking): my son endowed with the qualities of
 power and virtue, is worthy of the royal dignity not alone
 12 in this single island but in all Jambudīpa, and already on the
 day of name-giving he consecrated him uparāja¹ in the most
 solemn manner and granted him (the Southern Province)
 13 Dakkhiṇadesa. The Yuvarāja (Mahinda) who was sojourning
 in Malaya, understood by prudent conduct² to appease the
 14 sovereign, and with his brother's consent, he came accompanied
 by the bhikkhus dwelling in the three fraternities, sought
 out the King, and made here at once an inviolable treaty
 with him.

15 The consort of the Yuvarāja³, Tissā by name, the Queen,
 16 bore a daughter, named Saṃghā, and his other consort Kittī
 17 bore likewise four sons and a daughter. Then the King
 thought: under these circumstances⁴ my younger brother will
 18 be reliable for me, and he took careful counsel with his
 ministers and prudently married the beautiful daughter of the
 19 Yuvarāja, Saṃghā by name, to his own son Kassapa. Dakkhiṇa-
 desa (the South Province) he granted in like manner to his
 younger brother, but to the Prince (Kassapa) he made over
 20 a special share of his own revenues and assigned him all the

¹ The son of Sena II. was Kassapa, later King Kassapa V. In an inscription of Anurādhapura he expressly says of himself: *duṇṇu sūnāhi me yuva-raj bisev-siri pāmānā* "who at the same time that he was born (P. *janita*), received the consecration as yuvarāja". WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 42 ff. As to the difference between the Cūlav. and the inscription regarding the title *uparāja* and *yuvarāja* see note to v. 15.

² P. *upāyena*. W.: cunningly.

³ As the reconciliation between Sena and Mahinda has taken place the latter regains his rights as heir apparent, Dakkhiṇadesa (v. 19) being assigned him for the same reason. The more formal dignity of uparāja which is generally associated with that of yuvarāja, remained apparently with the son of King Sena.

⁴ P. *evam sati*: if he (the king) so acts as he intends, and as he acts subsequently, after holding counsel with his ministers: by kinship through marriage.

extraordinary revenues in the kingdom¹. But the administration of the whole island he looked after (himself), concerned for the welfare of the Island. In consequence of the living together of the twain (Kassapa and Saṃghā) who performed meritorious works, sons and daughters were born, endowed with the qualities of power and virtue.

Once when the Ruler with all pomp was holding high festival for the Tooth Relic, he ascended the splendid Ratana-pāsāda and when he beheld the pedestal of the golden Buddha empty whereon formerly the image stood², he asked why that was so. Thereupon his councillors replied: "Knowest thou not O Ruler! that in the time of the great King thy uncle³, O Sovereign! the Paṇḍu king came hither, ravaged this Island and departed with whatever belonged to the treasures of the Island?" When the King heard that, he was ashamed, as if he himself had suffered the defeat, and gave orders the selfsame day to his councillors to collect troops⁴.

¹ According to the reading of the Col. Ed. *rajjam pi sabbam tass' eva paribhogāya dāpayi* one would have to translate: "also he assigned him the whole kingdom for the drawing of his income". *Rajja* might mean that part of the Island that was later called *Rājaraṭṭha* and still later *Paṭṭihāraṭṭha*, but that would have been monstrous, since Sena would thereby have deprived himself of all rights and of nearly all his revenues. It would be difficult too to see how what is said in 19 c d could be distinguished from what is contained in v. 20 a b. The point here lies I believe, in the little word *pari* in *paribhoga*. It implies the idea of "more" of "acquisition" "addition to something" (Cf. BR., Wtb. s. v. *pari* 2 a 8), thus *paribhoga* stands in contrast to the simple *bhoga* of the preceding line.

² Without doubt the passage must be so translated, although the construction is not without difficulty. Cf. 50. 34 with the note.

³ The uncle of Sena II., his predecessor Sena I. is here described as "great father" (*mahāpitā*). The elder brothers of the father are thus described, the younger brothers being called "little father" (*cūlapitā*). See note to 63. 51.

⁴ The successful war of Sena II. against the Paṇḍus is mentioned in several inscriptions. The King is called *Siri Sangbo* (so in the inscr. of Bilibeva, of Etaviragollewa and Elleveva, WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 39, 44 ff.; BELL, ASC., VII th Progress Rep. = XIII. 1896, p. 45). The four Sinhalese sources also relate the victory over the Paṇḍus and the regaining of the drum of victory and the jewelled goblet which they had captured.

27 Now at that time there arrived a son of the Paṇḍu King
 who ill-treated by the king, had made the resolve to gain
 28 the kingship for himself. When the King (Sena) saw him he
 rejoiced greatly, treated him as was meet¹, betook himself
 then to the seaport Mahātitttha² and while he sojourned there,
 29 collected a great force as well as all the appliances of war
 30 completely³, like to a war-equipped army of the gods. Then
 the glorious (Prince) commanded his Senāpati together with
 the son of the Paṇḍu King thus: "Arise, slay the Paṇḍu King,
 31 bring hither all the jewels formerly carried away from here,
 transfer to him the royal dignity and come hither again
 32 at once". The Senāpati declared himself ready to do so, bade
 farewell to the Ruler, took the army and set sail on the
 33 spot. He came then to the opposite coast with his whole
 army and train and laying waste the neighbouring country,
 34 surrounded the town of Madhurā. He blockaded the gates,
 cut off all traffic and set fire to towers, bastions and gates⁴.
 35 When thus the Sihala army had penetrated his town, pillaging
 36 the whole (town) and slaughtering the garrison, then the
 Paṇḍu King at the news, collected his army, came on in haste
 37 and opened fight. But as his troops were not complete the
 Ruler who riding on the back of an elephant was himself
 38 wounded by a spear, left the town to its fate, took flight and
 lost his life at the place whither he had betaken himself. His
 consort who had come with him also found (her) death.
 39 Thereupon the Sihala army which had fearlessly entered the

¹ I. e. he fulfilled all the duties due to a guest of royal blood.

² Now Mantai (Mantota) in the Mannar District.

³ P. *anūnaṃ* is adverb.

⁴ S. *gopuraṭṭālakottṭhake*. According to the description of the plan of an Indian fortress given in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra, 2. 3. 21, *gopura* means a bastion-like structure above the gates, while *ṭṭāla* is a tower built on the wall. Cf. *ṭṭālauddāmaparikhādini* DhCo. III. 488¹⁶ and *pākāraparikhaṭṭālakādini* JāCo. VI. 341³¹, with which is meant the whole fortification of a town; also *pākāro gopuraṭṭālako* JāCo. VI. 433¹. *Dvāraṭṭāla* also occurs in P. (Dīpavs. 13. 21; 22. 10 and 19); JāCo. VI. 390² distinguishes this last from *antaraṭṭāla*. Thus *dvāraṭṭāla* is almost synonymous with *gopura*.

town, plundered it completely, as the gods the town of the asuras¹. The Senāpati thereupon inspected the treasures in 40 the royal palace; and all the valuables which had been carried away from our island, as well as that found in the town and 41 in the country, he took for himself and carried on the administration which he had seized. Hereupon he consecrated the son of 42 the Paṇḍu King and transferred the country to him with celebration of the (customary) festivities. He took elephants and 43 horses and men also, as he pleased, and stayed here and there at his pleasure, from no side threatened. Then he betook 44 himself to the sea-coast, sojourned there so long as he chose, embarked with unruffled calm, as if for amusement, came to 45 Mahātīttha, greeted the Ruler respectfully, gave a report and showed him the treasures he had brought along. "Good", 46 said the King, showed him favour and entered the capital with his joyful army. He held a victory banquet and cele- 47 brated a festival of victory and instituted a great offering for beggars according to their hearts' desire. He restored all 48 valuable property in the Island as it was heretofore, without partiality, and the golden images he set up in the places where they belonged. The empty pedestal (of the statue) of 49 the Master in the Ratanapāsāda he filled again² and he made the country secure by setting up guards against every danger. From that time onward he made the Island hard to subdue 50 by the foe and made it increase in wealth like the land of the Uttarakurus³. Living beings on the Island who in the 51 time of the former king had been in distress, felt themselves delivered in that they came to peace as from heat into the shade of clouds.

¹ The Indian epics speak of three towns of the asuras. They are built by the demon Maya of gold, silver and stone, in Heaven, in the firmament and on the earth. Śiva destroys them with fire and is therefore named *tripuraghna*, *tripuradahana*, *tripurahan* etc. See BR. s. v. *tripura*; HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 50.

² By setting up the recaptured image.

³ A mythical people of sages and seers who live beyond the Himālaya. Their country is often held to be the land of bliss. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, p. 186.

52 In the twentieth year of his reign, in the Abhayuttara-
 vihāra the Pāmsukūlika bhikkhus separated and formed special
 53 groups¹. The Yuvarāja Mahinda had built for the Prince of
 54 trees of the Master a beautiful, wonderful, graceful temple. The
 carpenters who were building the Bodhi house², noticed that
 a branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree by striking on a beam,
 55 threatened to break³. They considered what should be done,
 and informed the Yuvarāja (of the matter). He came hither,
 revered (the tree) with a great sacrificial offering (and said):
 56 "If the Master is born for the salvation of all living beings,
 as one that accepts the priceless merit which lies in the build-
 57 ing of the temple⁴, then let the branch bend upwards so
 that it is possible to build the temple." Having thus favorably
 58 influenced it and done it reverence he went home. Then the
 branch on the Prince of trees during the night bent upwards
 59 and all the workmen made it known to their master. The
 Yuvarāja was highly delighted, told his brother, the King,
 and revered (the tree) with a great sacrificial offering for
 60 which he spent much money. Having built the pariveṇa called
 Mahindasena he made it over to the community together with

¹ See note to 47. 66. Here we must keep strictly to the MSS. reading *gaṇāhesuṃ* (for which *ganāhesuṃ* in some MSS. is merely a frequently recurring inaccurate spelling). The alteration into *gatahesuṃ* of the Col. Ed. is poor. *Gaṇa* means a group of persons closely associated for the pursuit of common aims, a corporation, here an independent branch of bhikkhus, a sect. Wilson, Dict. in Skr. and Engl., gives for *gaṇa* etc. also the meaning "a sect in philosophy or religion". Cf. also *gaṇassa satthā* Saṃyutta I. 66²⁴, ³¹.

² See note to 38. 43.

³ For *bhindantaṃ* cf. Cūlav. ed. I. p. XV.

⁴ Here we have a *saccakiriya* (Mhvs. trsl. p. 125, note 3) of which the formula is: as certainly as this or that is the case, so certainly will this or that occur. W. changes the subject between 1 and 2. In line 2 he takes "I" as subject: "and if by the building of this house... I shall gain merit." That is impossible. In such a case *ahaṃ* would not be absent. The idea is rather this: The building of the temple is an offering, a *pūjā* which the Master — *satthā* remains the subject — shall graciously accept. In it there lies at the same time great merit, of course for the builder. Hence the work is described as *puñña*.

the (needful) revenues and accumulated still further merit. He 61 dispensed raiment, umbrellas, shoes which had come to himself¹, further rice for wayfaring (bhikkhus)² and baths with cheer. After the mighty Prince had thus carried out all kinds 62 of works of inferior merit, he passed away in the thirty-third year of the King's reign in accordance with his doing.

He being dead, the King set his younger brother Udaya 63 in his place and assigned him all that had belonged to the other. With an offering equal to the weight of his body he 64 comforted the poor and the helpless and by a regulative act he, at the same time, reformed the three fraternities. He had 65 a thousand jars of gold filled with pearls and on the top of each he placed a costly jewel and presented (it) to a thousand 66 brāhmaṇas whom he had fed with milk rice in pure jewelled goblets, as well as golden threads³. He clothed them also, 67 as a friend of meritorious works, with new garments at their hearts' desire, and gladdened them with festive pomp. To the 68 bhikkhus dwelling on the Island he dispensed the three garments, and presented all the women with quite exquisite raiment. Having restored the Lohapāsāda so that it resembled 69 the Vejayanta palace⁴ he brought thither⁵ an image of the Buddha of closely jointed gold mosaic⁶. When he heard that 70 the pāsāda had been an Uposatha house for all the great sages, he made it into a dwelling for the community with the wish that it should never stand empty. He assigned it main- 71 tenance villages, placed guards and ordered that thirty-two bhikkhus should dwell there. On the (Mahāvāluka-)gāṅgā he 72

¹ Cf. with *sapaṭisaṃbhattaṃ vatthaṃ* the phrase *saṇḍaṭṭhaṃ paṭisaṃbhattaṃ* in 52. 14.

² Vin. I. 292 has *āgantukabhadda* "rice food for newly arrived bhikkhus" and *gamikabhadda* beside *gūṇabhadda*. These are the monks who are unable to live by *piṇḍapāta*, that is the almsfood collected on the regular mendicant round.

³ The idea here is of the cotton thread which, according to brahmanical rite, the three highest castes wear over the shoulder. In this case these were evidently interwoven with gold thread.

⁴ See note to 48. 136.

⁵ See note to 50. 66.

⁶ P. *suvaṇṇaṅghanakottimaṃ*; cf. DhCo. iv. 135¹⁶; Mhvs. 30. 97.

had the Maṇimekhala dam built and on the Maṇihīra tank he
 73 built an outlet for the water. At Kaṭṭhantanagara he dammed
 up the Kāṇavāpi¹ (tank) and on the Cetiya mountain he built
 74 a hospital². The Buddhagāma-vihāra, the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra³
 and the Kūṭatissa-vihāra⁴ he enriched with a maintenance
 75 village. To the Maṇḍalagiri-vihāra⁵ he made over villages
 which belonged to himself and in the Uttaraḷha-pariveṇa⁶ he
 76 built a pāsāda. To the Mahāsena⁷ Buddha he granted a vil-
 lage and gave it watchmen, in the Sobhha-vihāra he built an
 77 image house. He brought figures of Bodhisattas into the
 Maṇimekhala-pāsāda and the ruined temple of the stone statue
 78 of the Prince of Sages⁸ he restored. The King united there-

¹ Here it is a case of restoring the dam, as the tank itself existed already at the time of Sena I. Cf. 50. 72.

² P. *vejjasālā*, lit. hall of physicians. The sick there found medical assistance.

³ Now Alutnuvara on the right bank of the Mahaveliganga in the Bintenne district. Evidently an ancient place of worship, probably already in pre-Aryan times, if the tale related in Mhvs. I. 14—43 rests on any kind of tradition. The thūpa in Alutnuvara is held to be the oldest in the Island. The Dutchman Spilberg saw it in the year 1602 in good condition, white as marble and crowned by a gilded pyramid (See TENNENT, Ceylon II. 421). This was certainly not its original form. In TENNENT's time it lay in a ruinous condition "a huge semicircular mound of brickwork three hundred and sixty feet in circumference, and still one hundred feet high, but so much decayed at the top, that its original outline is no longer ascertainable". Later the thūpa was apparently repaired in the usual way by a casing. When we visited Mahiyaṅgaṇa it lay again in ruins. The year before the southern half had been pulled down and the relic chamber also destroyed. What it contained in the way of votive gifts, as far as I saw these, belonged to more modern times.

⁴ Mentioned as Kuṭutisa-rad-mahaveher in the pillar inscription of Mahinda IV. in Polonnaruva, Rāja-Māligāva, EZ. II. 50, the reading of the name is however, not quite certain.

⁵ For this see note to 46. 29.

⁶ See 50. 77.

⁷ This means most likely the Buddha image in the Mahāsena-vihāra. For this cf. note to 48. 8.

⁸ See note to 38. 61.

with the Bodhisatta with the temple¹. Having dammed up² (anew) the irrigation trench of the Prince of trees he held a great festival. He had the whole of the Ratanasutta³ written down upon a golden plate and held for it a great sacrificial festival. He had the Abhidhamma recited. The image of Ānanda⁴ he brought into the town, walked round it facing to the right⁵ and made the community of the bhikkhus recite the Paritta⁶ in the usual way. By sprinkling with the Paritta water the King charmed people against illness and so removed the danger of plague from his country. After receiving the consecration at the Hemavāluka-cetiya⁷ he decreed in writing that this action should be performed every year. On the four Uposatha days in the month he dispensed to four thousand (persons) a gift of garments and rice food to boot. The Vesākha festival he celebrated⁸ in common with the poor, giving them food and drink and clothing as they desired. For the

¹ The passage is not clear. It seems to deal with the affiliation of the Mañimekhalapāsāda to the shrine of the Sīlāmayabuddha. It is curious that in v.77 Bodhisattas are mentioned, whereas in v.78 only one Bodhisatta is spoken of. According to an inscription in Jetavana the Mīṇimevulā-maha-pahā was built by the grandfather of Mahinda IV. (EZ. I. 214).

² Such a trench had already been dug by Mahānāga according to 41.94.

³ Sutta I in the Cūlavagga of the Suttanipāta (v. 222 ff.) This Sutta exists also in "Sanskrit" in the Mahāvastu (ed. SENART I. 290 ff.).

⁴ Ānanda was the Buddha's favourite disciple and his constant companion. What portrait of him is meant, and where it used to be formerly we do not know.

⁵ W. translates: "and carried it in procession round about the city". But it is impossible to get this meaning out of *katvā padakkhiṇaṃ*.

⁶ See note to 46. 5.

⁷ The same as the Mahāthūpa (in Anurādhapura), now Ruvanvāli Dāgoba.

⁸ Tradition places the parinibbāna of the Buddha on the day of full moon of Vesākha (April-May). See Mhvs. 3. 2; FLEET, JRAS. 1909, p. 6 ff. The Vesākhapūjā is often mentioned in the Mhvs., thus 32. 35, 35. 100. It was a favourite day for specially solemn actions such as the crowning of King Devānampiyatissa (Mhvs. 11. 42), the laying of the foundation stone of the Mahāthūpa (Mhvs. 29. 1) etc.

bhikkhu community of the Island he instituted a permanent offering and the poor, travellers and beggars he comforted by gifts. The Mahesī of the King, Saṃghā by name, built in the Abhayuttara(-vihāra) the building called Saṃghasena-pabbata¹ together with the (necessary) revenues. She placed a dark blue jewel diadem on the stone image of the Prince of Sages and instituted at great cost a sacrificial festival for the Master (Buddha). His Senāpati, the hero Kuṭṭhaka² by name, built the pariveṇa called Senasenāpati with great revenues. Thus the glorious (prince) with his court performed many meritorious works and entered in the thirty-fifth year of his reign³ into the world of the gods.

Thereupon his next youngest brother, the nobleman Udaya⁴ by name, became king, concerned in every way for the wel-

¹ Different from the Saṃghasenārāma named 50. 70 (see note here) which belonged to the Mahāvihāra. Cf. also note to 52. 45.

² Here again inscriptions offer a valuable confirmation of our Chronicle. The Senevirad Kuṭṭhā = Senāpati Kuṭṭhaka and the Senevirad Pirivena = Senasenāpati-pariveṇa are mentioned in the Rambeva inscription as well as in the Iripinniyeva inscription (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 164, 175). In my edition I have given the name of the Senāpati in the form Tuṭṭhaka, as all my MSS. read thus. Now however, I am more inclined to regard the difference as being due, less to varying tradition, than to a slip of the pen, as BELL has already done, ASC. VII th Progress Rep. 1891 = XIII. 1896 p. 59 n. 2. Cf. Errata et Corrigenda, Cūlav. ed. II. We may thus change *Tuṭṭhakanāmako* into *Kuṭṭhakanāmako* which is also the reading according to WICKREMASINGHE, of a MS. in the Indian Institute at Oxford.

³ Pūjāv. 35 years, also Rājāv.

⁴ Without doubt the inscriptions of Iripinniyeva and Rambeva (EZ. I. 163 ff., 172 ff.) belong to this king, Udaya II. (as I have, otherwise Udaya I.). In these the king calls himself Salamevan = Silāmeghavaṇṇa, which would not fit Kassapa IV., as his biruda was Sirisaṃghabodhi. The king in the Kirigallewa and Noccipotana inscriptions (EZ. II. 1 ff. 5 ff.) of the 2nd and 9th years of his reign has the same name. He is mentioned as a brother of Kassapa (IV.) in the Moragoda and the Timbiriveva inscriptions. See note to 52. 1. The Negama inscr. (EZ. II. 14 ff.) dates from the time before Udaya's (II.) ascent of the throne, as he still calls himself there Udā Mahāpā i. e. Udaya Mahādipāda. This Udā Mahāpā cannot be Udaya III. who reigned later (Udā

fare of the islanders. While himself king, he raised his 91 youngest brother Kassapa to the rank of Mahādipāda. The 92 King considered that one should show favour to his kindred and gave his brother's son (likewise) called Kassapa, the 93 daughter of the Yuvarāja (Kassapa), Senā by name, to wife. The King himself took the other (daughter) called Tissā¹.

The son of the (former) Uparāja, Mahinda, and of the 94 princess Kittī, the Ādipāda Kittaggabodhi, the deluded one, rebelled against the great King, escaped by night and came 95 alone in undiscovered disguise to Rohaṇa. He brought all the 96 people into his power, laid waste the whole province and had his maternal uncle² who dwelt there murdered. When the Monarch 97 heard this he was filled with rage and sought a means of bringing him hither. He summoned the son of his brother, 98 the Yuvarāja Kassapa³, and spake to him thus: "Most excellent One, thou must be my helper". Said the other: "What 99 shall I do?" The Ruler replied: "Thy son, the powerful Mahinda, has become a man. He has from his father and 100 his mother a claim on the province of Rohaṇa⁴. He is brave,

Mahayā, note to 53.13), because apart from palaeographical reasons, the reigning king in the Negama inscr. has the biruda Sirisangbo. This fits Sena II. whose yuvarāja was Udaya II. but not Dappula IV. Silāmeghavaṇṇa the predecessor of Udaya III.

¹ The Mahādipāda or Yuvarāja Kassapa is the king who reigns later as Kassapa IV.; the son of Udaya's brother (Sena II.) is the later Kassapa V.

² The brothers of Kittī, the mother of Kittaggabodhi, were according to 50. 50 ff. Kassapa, Sena and Udaya. It is the first of these probably who is meant here.

³ With the reading *yuvarājassa* which is accepted in the Col. Ed. nothing can be done. We must decide therefore for the reading *yuvarājam sa*. Still the designation of the brother's son (*bhātuputta*) of Udaya II. as yuvarāja is curious. In the verse 93 not this Kassapa is called yuvarāja, but on the contrary, the youngest brother of the King, who is likewise called Kassapa. Nevertheless according to the Sinhalese law of succession, the nephew Kassapa was heir to the throne after the brother, and probably for that reason he is here, in anticipation, called yuvarāja.

⁴ On the father's side, because Mahinda's father Kassapa (later Kassapa V.) was the son of Saṃghā, the daughter of the Rohana prince Kittaggabodhi, and on the mother's side because his mother, the younger Saṃghā, was a daughter of Tissā and thus granddaughter of the same Aggabodhi.

able, a hero, adroit, skilful in the management of the bow,
 101 warlike, discerning, prudent and experienced in statecraft. We
 will send him to bring the villain hither who slew his uncle.”
 102 When Kassapa heard the King's words he spake full of re-
 verence: “O King, summoned by the King, I would myself
 103 go, how much more so my son. My line is safe and thy good
 graces¹, O Monarch; do therefore, that time be not lost, what
 104 thou desirest.” When the Ruler of men heard his words he
 rejoiced greatly, had a great force completely equipped and
 105 gave orders to the general Vajiragga² to take the young
 106 prince Mahinda with great care under his protection. Having
 thereby made the town empty as it were, he gave the whole
 army and train with all the appliances of war to Mahinda.
 107 The Ruler of men himself accompanied him on foot and en-
 joined him: “O excellent One, go hence and defend the king-
 108 dom.” Mahinda shone glorious as great Indra³ when he set
 forth at the head of the army of the gods for the great battle
 109 between gods and demons. He arose and speedily came to
 Guttasāla⁴. All the inhabitants, the chiefs of districts, as well
 110 as those of the provinces who had been oppressed by the
 murderer of his uncle, came hither and joined him thinking:
 111 our (lawful) lord has arrived. The rebel who was in Giri-

¹ The sense is: so long as I enjoy thy favour the continuance of my family is assured. Therefore I shall always fulfil thy desires.

² A descendant of a Mekāppar Vādārum Vijuragu is mentioned in the Buddhānnehela inscription. As this inscription (see WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 191 ff.) belongs in all probability to the time of Kassapa V., the Vijuragu named there may well be our Vajiragga. In the same inscription there is mention of a Viduragu and in the Moragoda inscription of Kassapa V. of a Vadurā in the same connection, possibly variants of the same name. BELL, ASC., VIIth Progress Rep. (= XIII. 1896), p. 60.

³ Punning comparison of the name Mahinda with Mahinda, Skr. *Mahendra* “the great Indra”.

⁴ Now Buttala in the Korale of the same name in the Badulla District, Province Uva. Guttasāla or -hāla is already mentioned at the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The importance of Guttasāla was due to its lying on a main road which led from Mahāgāma to Mahiyaṅga and from there along the Mahāvālukagaṅgā to Pulatthinagara. The older form for the name Buttala is *Guttala*. It occurs for instance, in the Sinhalese Thūpavaṃsa (ed. W. DHAMMARATANA, 1889, p. 133).

maṇḍala¹, lost courage; he seized all valuable royal property 112
 and withdrew with elephants and steeds to Malaya. Mahinda's
 army defeated his army at different places pursued it on foot, 113
 and when it caught sight of the elephants and the horses,
 seized them before Malaya, and convinced that he was there, 114
 entered Malaya, hewing down the whole wilderness of forest
 of Malaya and making rivers and tanks (look) like roads.
 When the fool saw the people (advance), he overcome by fury, 115
 flung all his treasures into rivers, bogs, chasms and the like
 and hid himself alone in the forest in a rock cave. People who 116
 sought him found the ruthless one and captured him. Full of
 joy the people took him with them, came with haste and show- 117
 ed him to Mahinda who had halted in Guttasāla. When the latter 118
 saw him he asked him laughing: "Well hast thou enjoyed
 Rohaṇa?" and gave him in charge to Vajiragga the King's
 general. He himself took the army and betook himself to 119
 Mahāgāma². He became ruler of Rohaṇa, showing kindness
 to the people. He saw to it that the people who had been 120
 oppressed by the fool recovered, and he restored the Buddha
 Order which had been injured by him, to the place (befitting
 it). He laid out gardens of fruit and flowers at divers places, 121
 enclosed tanks and dammed up the Mahānadi³. Everywhere 122
 he brought the four necessities within reach of the (bhikkhu)
 community. By keeping down the evil-minded district chiefs and
 the chiefs of the provinces, and by rooting out the rebels and 123
 making (the country) free from briers, he made the whole people
 content, exercising generosity and giving himself up to enjoy-
 ment. As one who must be honoured by prudent men and served 124
 by those who wish for their own advantage, he was like to a
 wishing tree⁴, a dispenser of blessings for all the needy. He 125

¹ Corresponds perhaps to the modern Kandapalla-Korale embracing the hill country to the west of Buttala, south of the Koslanda-Haldumulla road.

² At that time the capital of Rohaṇa. Cf. note to 45. 42.

³ Perhaps name of the Menik-ganga?

⁴ P. *kapparakkha* = skr. *kalparṛkṣa*. For the Indian tales about heavenly trees which fulfil wishes and offer mankind all that it needs and desires, see HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology*, 7.

abandoned the evil conduct practised by former rulers, and took up his abode there, cherishing justice.

- 126 The General (Vajiragga) took the Ādipāda (Kittagga-bodhi) with him and betook himself to Anurādhapura and showed
127 him to the King. When the King saw him he was furious, had him at once thrown into prison, appointed a secure guard
128 for him and ill-used him in all kinds of ways. Three times he the glorious one gave an offering (of rice) equal to his
body weight and he had the thūpa in the Thūpārāma covered
129 with golden plates. There too he built a pāsāda and caused a bhikkhu community to dwell there. In vihāra and town he
130 restored what was ruined. On the Kadamba-river¹ he provided an overflow of water with a strong weir, and he enlarged
131 the dam of the Mayettī-tank. There too the Monarch built an overflow of water and every year² he had distributed
beautiful, specially fine stuffs for (the making of) the robes.
132 During a famine he had alms-halls built for all living beings and instituted a great alms-giving; he also enlarged the Mahā-
133 pālī(-hall). Amongst the inmates of the three fraternities he had rice with sour milk distributed, as well as rice
continuously for the destitute and rice soup with solid food.
134 Having thus performed these and other meritorious works which lead to Heaven, he entered after reigning eleven years³,
135 into the company of the gods. The gold that he had spent in these eleven years was estimated at thirteen hundred thousand
(kahāpaṇas).

- 136 Thus after these two Rulers of men had brought into their power the one the formidable Paṇḍu King, the other Rohaṇa with its terrible wildernesses, they themselves fell into the power of death.

Here ends the fifty-first chapter, called "The History of the Two Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ See note to 41. 61.

² *Anuvassan* belongs to *dāpaya*, not to *akā* as W. has it.

³ The same number of years in Pūjāv. In Rājāv. on the other hand, 40 years. Both sources, as well as Rājaratn. ascribe to King Udaya the building of the Mahatumburuppē-vihāra in Rohaṇa. Udaya II. is mentioned under the name of Udā Abhay in the Moragoda inscription where he is credited with having subdued Rohaṇa and Malaya. BELL, ASC. VIIth Progress Rep. 1891 (= XIII, 1896), p. 60 ff. WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 200 ff. See also note to 51. 90.

CHAPTER LII

THE TWO KINGS

Thereupon Kassapa¹ took over the government and as- 1
signed to the discerning Yuvarāja called Kassapa² (the Sou-
thern Province) Dakkhinadesa. The consecration as chief 2
queen³ he conferred on the daughter of the Yuvarāja, the
princess Tissā who was his consort. For mendicant artists⁴ 3
who came from different regions the King dispensed per-
manently an offering which was called Daṇḍissara.

The Ādipāda Mahinda who sojourned at that time in Ro- 4
hana, advanced with forces to seize the Royal Province⁵. At 5
the tidings thereof the indignant King sent his own army
against him, but Mahinda, a great warrior, defeated it in
battle. Thereupon the King to prevail upon him to turn back, 6

¹ Several inscriptions date from the time of Kassapa IV. as for in-
stance, the Moragoda inscription just mentioned (note to 51. 134) where
Kasub Sirisaṅgbo is described as brother (*sohovur*) of Udā Abhay
(= Udaya II.) Also in the inscription of Timbiriveva (EZ. II. 9 ff.). In
the inscription of the Kiribat-vehera (EZ. I. 153 ff.) the King calls him-
self merely Sirisaṅgbo, as also in the Mahakalatteva, Kongolleva and
Inginimitiya inscriptions (E. MÜLLER, AIC. nr. 110, 112, 113), also in the
Negama inscr. (EZ. II. 14 ff.), in that of Kukurumahandamana (ib. II. 21 ff.
as also in that of Alutveva which WICKREMASINGHE (ib. II. 230) ascribes
for palaeographic reasons to Kassapa IV.

² The son of Sena II. See note to 51. 98.

³ P. *aggābhiseka* means the same as *abhiseka* as *aggamaheṣi*.

⁴ *Yācakānaṃ sippīnaṃ* belong together, the first being in apposition
to the last, *ca* joins the sentence with the preceding one. Cf. 53. 30;
60. 22.

⁵ P. *rājino raṭṭham*. Here for the first time the name *Rājaraṭṭha*
occurs in a less conventional form. It means in the sequel northern
Ceylon with Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara as capitals as distinguished
from Rohaṇa and from Dakkhinadesa, the province of the Yuvarāja.

- 7 sent forth his father, the Yuvarāja Kassapa. The latter be-
took himself to his son, made all kinds of prudent remon-
strances accompanied by various instructive tales, induced the
8 son to give up the fight and then returned. But later the
Ādipāda (Mahinda) had (several) chiefs of districts executed,
and when he saw that the people rose in rebellion, he approach-
9 ed the capital. The bhikkhu community brought him to
the King and presented him to him. The King gave him his
daughter to wife and sent him back to Rohaṇa.
- 10 When the King had expelled those bhikkhus in the three
fraternities whose discipline was bad, he let new bhikkhus
11 take up their abode here and there. Through his nephew¹
who was born of the twice consecrated queen² he had
amid celebration of a sacrifice the soil about the Bodhi
12 Tree in the Mahāvihāra increased. In the three frater-
nities he put up three stone images, thereto boards of gold
13 with rays and umbrellas, as well as diadems jewels³. Having
built in the Abhayagiri-vihāra a pāsāda with his name⁴, he

¹ P. *sūnunā*. The brother's son is called "son", just as the father's brother is called "father". See note to 51. 24.

² The title p. *dvayābhisekajāta* or *dvayābhisekasamjāta* (v. 37) is applied to Kassapa (afterwards K. V.), the son of Sena II. by Saṃghā, a daughter of Kittagabodhi (1) and of Devā. Kassapa V. has the same title in the Sinhalese form *debisevājā* in an inscription of Anurādhapura (WICKREMASINGHE EZ. I. 50, note 17), as well as in the Medirigiriya inscr. (EZ. II. 30: *debisevhuḍā*) and in that of Bilibeva (EZ. II. 41: *debisevādā*). According to W. (Mhvs. trsl., p. 78, n. 11) the epithet *debisavajā* also occurs in the signature to the Dampiyā-aṭuvā-gāṭapada.

³ The passage is certainly difficult, but the emendations of the Col. Ed. are much too arbitrary. In the first place *tiṇi bimbe sūlāmaye* is quite unobjectionable. We have in the same way Mhvs. 41. 58 *pitake tiṇi*. Even *raṃsiphala* needs no alteration. We have merely to realise that behind the images, as one often sees in the case of bronze statuettes, boards were fastened on which the rays emanating from the Buddha (the mandorla) were painted. *Suvannāyā* is more difficult to place. It probably belongs to the following dvandva-compound and is put in the plural because one is dealing here with two different objects .. Perhaps one should read *tathā* rather than *tadā*.

⁴ WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. I. 216) identifies with this the Kasub-vad-mahapāhā mentioned in an inscr. of Mahinda IV. in the Jetavanārāma.

made bhikkhus dwell there and assigned them a village. To 14
 the cetiya in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-vihāra¹ he granted a village;
 and to all the bhikkhus he distributed his own garments as
 they had come to him². To all creatures on land and water 15
 he granted safety and observed in all respects the conduct of
 the ancient kings. His Senāpati, Sena Ilaṅga, who was of 16
 royal lineage, built for the bhikkhus of the Thera School a
 dwelling in the west of the Thūpārāma. For the Dhamma- 17
 rucika bhikkhus he founded the Dhammārāma and for the
 Sāgalikas³ the (monastery) called Kassapasena⁴. On the Cetiya 18
 mountain he built the periveṇa called Hadayupha and made
 it over to the Dhammarucika bhikkhus. For grove-dwelling 19
 bhikkhus⁵ the General built in the groves here a hut and
 there a hut and gave them to them. On the Rattamāla moun- 20
 tain he built a pleasing, agreeable, charming hut and handed
 it over to the ascetics, the Masters of the Order⁶. In the 21
 Mahāvihāra he had the splendid pariveṇa called Samuddagiri
 built and made it over to the Pamsukūlika bhikkhus⁷. Having 22
 made a dwelling in the wilderness⁸ called after his family, he
 granted it to the bhikkhus in the Mahāvihāra who dwelt in
 the forests. In ruined vihāras he had renovations undertaken 23
 and to all bhikkhus he gave patches for their worn out gar-

¹ See note to 51. 74.

² See 51. 61 with note.

³ The two sects are also mentioned together in 39. 41.

⁴ Mentioned as Kasub-senevirad-pirivena in the Bilibeva inscr.
 of Kassapa V. (EZ. II. 40).

⁵ The *ārāṃikā bhikkhavo* must not be confounded with the monastery
 servants which are called *ārāṃikā* (see note to 37. 63). The term coin-
 cides with *ārāṇṇakā bhikkhavo* or is at any rate closely allied to it.
 Cf. 52. 22 and 64.

⁶ P. *sāsanassa sāmikānaṃ* reminds one of the honorific title *vat-
 himiyā* occurring not infrequently in inscriptions. (cf. EZ. I. 33, l. 12;
 48, l. 29 etc.) or *bik-sang-h*. (EZ. I. 91, l. 13; 92, l. 17 etc.) or merely
himiyā (EZ. I. 94, B, l. 1).

⁷ See note 47. 66.

⁸ By *arañña* is meant the *tapovana* (see 53. 14 ff.), the forest district
 to the west of Anurādhapura in which the group of the so-called Western
 Monasteries lies. On these ruins see A. M. HOCART, ASC. Mem. I. 18 ff.

24 ments. The Tissārāma¹ he built as a home for bhikkhunis and
entrusted these with the care of the sacred Bodhi Tree in the
25 Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra). In Anurādhapura and also in Pulatthina-
gara he had hospitals built for combating the upasagga disease².
26 To the dwellings that he had built (for priests³) he granted
maintenance villages and villages which were bound to provide
helpers for the monastery⁴, and ornaments for the images.
27 He built houses where medicine was to be had in different
parts of the town and to the mothers of the Pamsukūlika
28 (-bhikkhus) he dispensed rice and clothing. Many quadrupeds
were freed by the Senāpati from their captivity, and to the
29 poor he had large offerings dispensed. Having brought together
spices, rice, broth, and all kinds of solid nourishment, he
30 distributed sugar to the bhikkhus in the form of pigs⁵. In
performing these and other meritorious works Sena, the gene-
ral of the army, illumined the land with the moonlight beams
31 of his glory. A kinsman of his, the general Rukkha by name⁶,
built in the village of Savāraka a very charming vihāra and
32 handed it over to the inmates of the Mahāvihāra, laying down
as the best (requisite) for the attainment of the degrees
33 of salvation the strictest fulfilment of duty⁷. The Grand

¹ Mentioned in the Ayitigeveva inscription of Kassapa V. (EZ. II. 34).

² Cf. also 52. 77. What disease was meant by *upasagga* is impossible to determine. According to JOLLY, Medizin, p. 48, 87, the Skr. word *upasarga* means: "sequelae" or "complication". According to BR. it denotes "possession". Perhaps *upasagga* is just any kind of epidemic, as "influenza" with us.

³ W. connects *attanaṃ katāvāsānaṃ* with the *vejjasālā* mentioned in the preceding verse and translates: "to these buildings". That this is wrong is proved by the mention of the helpers of the monastery and of the images. ⁴ P. *ārāmikagāme*. See note to 37. 63.

⁵ It will be as well on the whole to keep to the reading of the MSS.: *sūkararūpaṃ*. *Guḷa* always means sugar kneaded into a shape. We have to do here with some kind of form (cf. our *sugarloaf*) which may have had very little likeness to a pig.

⁶ I see no reason for altering the traditional MS. rendering *rukkha-savhayaṃ* into *rakkhasavhayaṃ*. Rukkha reminds one of the Skr. *rukṣa* meaning "rough".

⁷ A difficult passage. I take *sāra* in a concrete sense, meaning "the essential, the highest", here in the plural: the various stages on the

Scribe¹, Sena by name, built in the Mahāvihāra the Mahā-lekhakapabbata house, an excellent abode for the bhikkhus. A minister of the King called Coḷarāja, repaired the charming 34 pariveṇa that had been destroyed, so that it had again solidity. In the three fraternities the King (himself) had maṇḍapas 35 built, resembling Veḷḷayanta, painted in different colours, in a fashion (rendered) charming by figure ornaments. And after he had instituted relic festivals to the delight of the people 36 he passed away in accordance with his deeds after a reign lasting seventeen years².

Hereupon the Yuvarāja, Kassapa³ born of the twice 37 consecrated queen⁴, attained the royal consecration in the kingdom of Laṅkā to which he came in order of succession. He was pious, had reached the path of salvation, wise as one 38 who possesses supernatural powers⁵, eloquent as the teacher

road to salvation. For the combination *sārāṇaṃ paṭipatti* cf. *paṭipattisāro* JaCo. I. 418⁷. *Sādhū* "the good, the right, the best" is the predicative object of *ṭhapetvā*. It was evidently Rukkhā's intention that the vihāra built by him should serve as a *paḍhānaghara* (note to 37. 232). W.'s translation is too general and vague. The word "daily" inserted by him is not in the text.

¹ He is mentioned as *Mahālā Sen* (= *Seno mahālekho*) in the Mahakalatteva inscr. in which the building of the Nālārāma is ascribed to him. See note to 50. 9.

² Pūjāv. the same. Rājāv. does not mention Kassapa IV., the only Kassapa mentioned there is Kassapa V.

³ There is an excellently preserved inscription belonging to this king in Anurādhapura (WICKREMASTINGHE, EZ. I. 42 ff.) which confirms a number of statements made by the Mahāvamsa. The Medirigiriya and the Budannehela inscriptions of the same king are dated in the 3rd year of his reign, that of Ayitigeveva in the 5th year and that of Bilibeveva in the 7th year (EZ. II. 27, 35, 39). In all inscriptions he has the name Abhā Salamevan = Abhaya Silāmeghavaṇṇa. For the literary work ascribed to king Kassapa V. cf. H. W. COBRINGTON, H. C., p. 38.

⁴ Cf. note to 52. 11.

⁵ P. *sābhīṇṇo*. The five *abhiññā* are: 1) magic power, 2) the heavenly ear, 3) knowledge of the thoughts of others, 4) the memory of former births, 5) the heavenly eye. They are often described in the canonical works. (Cf. amongst others, SN. trsl. by GEIGER, II. 165 ff.). HEILER, Die buddhistische Versenkung, p. 26 ff.

39 of the gods (Brhaspati), generous as the dispenser of treasure
 (Kubera), deeply learned, a preacher of the true doctrine,
 practised in all the arts, adroit in proving what is right and
 40 what is not right, versed in statecraft, immovable as the pillar
 of a gate, standing firmly in the teaching of the Leader on
 the path to deliverance, not to be shaken by all the storms of
 41 other opinions, keeping himself free from all evil such as guile,
 hypocrisy, pride, a mine of virtues as the ocean (is one) of
 42 all jewels. The King who was a moon for the earth, granted
 to the Ādipāda Dappula¹, a scion of his house, the rank of
 43 yuvarāja. Carrying on the government with the ten (royal)
 virtues and with the five means of winning hearts, he pro-
 44 tected the world as an only (son)² of his own. He reformed
 the whole Order of the Master by regulative acts, took in
 young bhikkhus and thus provided for the filling of the
 45 dwellings. The Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi,
 which had been destroyed, he restored³, adorned with various
 46 dwellings, made it over at the celebration of a festival to the
 bhikkhus sprung from the Thera School and granted them,
 who were five hundred⁴ (in number), maintenance villages.
 47 There the Ruler of Lankā revealed, as it were, to the world
 that Master of the worlds Metteya who in the delectable Tu-
 sita Heaven, at the head of the assembly of the gods, preaches

¹ See below note to 53. 1.

² P. *ekaṃ va attano*, thus all the MSS. The Col. Ed. alters the text arbitrarily into *nettaṃ va attano*. But the text gives perfectly good sense, as a comparison with 54. 6 shows. *Ekaṃ* must be supplemented by *puttaṃ*. See also notes to 37. 107 and 108.

³ The restoration of the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra by Kassapa V. is also mentioned in the inscription at Anurādhapura (l. 6) cited above (note to v. 37). Along with Mirisiviṭṭi Sangsen-aram and Kasubraj-vehera are also mentioned there. The former was built, according to 51. 86, by the mother of the King, the latter according to 50. 81, was finished by Sena I. There is no contradiction between the Cūlavamsa and the inscription. As the association with the Maricavaṭṭi shows, it was a case of renovation with the latter. WICKREMASINGHE also translates the verb *karay* (ger.) by "(re)built".

⁴ *Tesaṃ* is not as W. thinks (to five hundred of them) gen. part., but obj. to *dāpayi* and *pañcasātānaṃ* attrib. to *tesaṃ*.

the glorious doctrine of the truth, in that he himself in the 48 perfectly equipped vihāra, sitting in a maṇḍapa decorated with all kinds of jewels, surrounded by all the bhikkhus¹ of the 49 town, recited the Abhidhamma with the grace of a Buddha. He had the Abhidhamma-piṭaka written on tablets of gold, the 50 book Dhammasaṅgaṇī², adorned with all kinds of jewels, and having built a splendid temple in the midst of the town he 51 placed the book in it and caused festival processions to be held for it. The position of Sakkasenāpati he granted to his own son³ and 52 entrusted him with the care of this sacred book⁴. Every year 53 the King had the town festively decorated as the town of the gods, and surrounded by his decked-out army, resplendent as 54 the King of the gods in all his royal robes, riding on the back of his elephant, he marched through the streets of the town and brought with great pomp (that book containing) the 55 summary of the true doctrine to the vihāra built by himself, delectable, perfectly equipped. There, in the relic temple, 56 under a graceful jewel-studded maṇḍapa, he placed it on the relic cushion and held a sacrificial festival. He restored the 57 Ganthākara-pariveṇa⁵ in the Mahāmeghavana, built a hospital in the town and assigned it villages. In the Abhayagiri(-vi- 58 hāra) he built the Bhaṇḍikā-pariveṇa⁶ and the Silāmegha-

¹ I regard *nāgarehi* not as subst. with W., but as adjective attribute to *bhikkhūhi*. The *ca* joins *nisinno* with *parivārīto*.

² See notes to 37. 225 and 44. 109. I believe that *dhammasaṅgaṇi-kaṃ potthaṃ* is in apposition to *abhidhammapiṭakaṃ*.

³ Unfortunately we do not learn the name of this son. It cannot however, be the Mahinda mentioned 51. 99 ff., as this M. was apparently a son of Saṃghā, not of Devā. (Cf. v. 64 and note to 54. 48.)

⁴ P. *dhammapotthaka* "a work belonging to the dhamma", the collection of the sacred books.

⁵ The Ganthākara-vihāra is already mentioned in 37. 243 as the place of Buddhaghosa's sojourn. It belonged to the Mahāvihāra which was situated in the grove called Mahāmeghavana. We must assume therefore, that *akā* in our verse is used in a double sense: "restored" and "built", or we must translate *Ganthākara-pariveṇa* by "a pariveṇa belonging to the Ganthākara(vihāra)".

⁶ Evidently called so in honour of his mother Saṃghā who has the name of *Saṅg Baṇḍay* in the Anurādhapura inscription (l. 3). EZ. I. 23, n. 6.

59 pabbata¹ and granted them villages. In the vihāra of the
 Jotivana the King, the Sovereign of Laṅkā, granted to the
 eating-house a village, and the same to the one in the Abhaya-
 60 giri². To the vihāra called Dakkhiṇāgiri³ the King who was
 filled with the deepest piety, granted out of gratitude a vil-
 61 lage. The Sakkasenāpati⁴ had a graceful pariveṇa that received
 his name, built in a charming fashion and handed it over to-
 gether with villages to the adherents of the Thera School.
 62 His wife Vajirā handed over to the same (bhikkhus) a pari-
 veṇa bearing her name which she had built, together with a
 63 village. Further she had a home built in Padalañchana⁵
 and granted it to the bhikkhunis of the universally revered
 64 Thera School. Devā, the mother of the Sakkasenāpati, built
 for the bhikkhus who lived in the wilderness⁶ and who were
 the light of the Thera stock, a dwelling which received her
 65 name. Further she made for the image of the Master in the
 Maricavaṭṭi a diadem jewel, a net of rays⁷, an umbrella and
 a garment.

66 On the king's demesne the King built a royal dwelling
 named after himself, (and) the delightful pāsāda bearing the
 67 name of Pālīka⁸. Another consort of the King, called Rājini,
 honoured the Hemamālīka-cetiya by the dedication of a co-
 68 vering of cloth⁹. She had a son by name Siddhattha who

¹ Again confirmed by the Anurādhapura inscr., l. 13 (Salameyvanpavu). The word *pabbata* "mountain" often appears at the end of the names of monastery buildings.

² The vihāra of the Jotivana (see note to 37. 65) is again the Jeta-vana-vihāra situated in the Jotivana. This is shown also by the combination with the Abhayagiri.

³ See note to 38. 50, also 42. 27.

⁴ The son of the King according to v. 52. ⁵ Cf. 54. 44.

⁶ P. *ārañṇakabhikkhūnaṃ*. See notes to 52. 19 and 22.

⁷ For *cūḷāmaṇi* and *pādajāla* see note to 38. 64.

⁸ The wording of the text makes it likely that v. 66 deals only with one building. This was called, therefore, either Kassapapālīka or originally Kassapāvāsa and later, at the time of the author of the passage, Pālīkapāsāda.

⁹ See note to 44. 44. Hemamālīka or Ratanavāluka (now Ruvanvālī) is the name for the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.

being placed over the government here¹, was known by the title of Malayarāja; he was beauteous as the God of Love. After his death the King built a splendid hall for the bhikkhus 69 and instituted an offering of alms, transferring to him the merit² thereof.

While thus the Sovereign of Laṅkā held sway in justice, 70 the Paṇḍu King was vanquished in battle by the Coḷa King. To gain military aid he sent numerous gifts. The King, the 71 Ruler of Laṅkā, took counsel with his officials, equipped military forces, appointed his Sakkasenāpati as leader of the troops and betook himself to Mahātittha. Standing at the edge of 72 the coast he spake of the triumph of former kings and having thus aroused their enthusiasm, he made his troops embark. With his army the Sakkasenāpati thereupon safely crossed 74 the sea and reached the Paṇḍu country. When the Paṇḍu 75 King saw the troops and him he spake full of cheer: "I will join all Jambudīpa under one umbrella". The King took the two 76 armies; but as he could not vanquish him (the King) of the Coḷa line, he gave up the fight and retired. The Sakkasenā- 77 pati set forth once more, with the purpose of fighting further, made halt, and died of the upasagga plague³ to the undoing of the Paṇḍu (king). When the Ruler of Laṅkā heard that 78 the troops were also perishing of the same disease, out of pity he had the army brought back⁴. He then granted the position 79 of Sakkasenāpati to the son of the dead (man). He honoured

¹ I. e. over the government of the Malaya province.

² P. *pattim*. For this term see note to 42. 50.

³ See note to 52. 25.

⁴ Therefore the campaign was unsuccessful. The Coḷaking who vanquished in battle the Pāṇḍya king, was no doubt Parāntaka I. who ascended the throne in A. D. 907. In the Udayēndiram plates he actually boasts of having defeated the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha and of having routed an army of the king of Ceylon. This inscription is dated in the 15th year of Parāntaka's reign (= 921-2). In another inscription of his 12th year, noticed by R. B. VENKAYYA, the king "refers incidentally to an invasion of the Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon". See HULTZSCH, JRAS. 1913, p. 525 f.; H. W. CODRINGTON, H. C. p. 38, 52.

80 the latter by making his son leader of the army¹. By the inmates of the three fraternities he had a Paritta ceremony² observed in the town and thus warded off from
81 his people the danger of plague and bad harvest. Having thus secured for the Order and for his people by all manner of means peace, the King in the tenth year (of his reign)³ entered happily into Heaven.

82 Even as this ruler of kings, Kassapa, who so long as he held sway in Laṅkā, was a reader of the Tipiṭaka, a light of all knowledge, a ready speaker, a monarch among poets, a shining light in presence of mind and determination, a teacher, a saviour, gifted with wisdom, faith and pity, rejoicing in the welfare of others, wise in knowledge of the world, loyal (to his people) — even thus, rich in spotless virtue, should the whole world be.

Here ends the fifty-second chapter, called "The Two Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ W. translates the passage thus: "And then he gave the office of Sakkasenāpati to his (the late general's) son, and made him the chief of the army and brought him up in the father's name."

² On *paritta* see note to 46. 5.

³ According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. (here only one Kassapa is named) the king reigned six years. Both sources relate that under him the Queen Sangā (Pūjāv. calls her the mother of the King) enriched the Lohamahāpāsāda by providing it with a crowning ornament.

CHAPTER LIII

THE FIVE KINGS

Thereupon the Yuvarāja by name Dappula¹, became king. 1
 To the dignity of uparāja he appointed the Ādipāda of his
 own name. To the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra he granted a village. 2
 And then the King who in the town maintained the pious
 ways of former kings, unable on account of former deeds² to 3
 enjoy this kingdom for a longer time, fell in the seventh
 month (of his reign) into the jaws of death.

The Uparāja Dappula³ then became king after him. He 4
 granted the position of yuvarāja to the Ādipāda Udaya. At 5

¹ The nomination by Kassapa V. of Dappula III. (otherwise D. IV.) as yuvarāja is related in 52. 42. Neither Pūjāv. nor Rājāv., nor any other Sinhalese source explains in what relationship he stood to his predecessor. Mhvs. 52. 42 says of him merely *vamse jātassa attano*.

² P. *pubbkammena attano*. What is meant are his actions in a former existence. His short reign is thus attributed to his unfavourable kamma. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give him a 7 months' reign.

³ In Pūjāv., Rājāv., Rājaratn. and Nik.-s. Dappula IV. (V) is called Kuḍā-Dāpula to distinguish him from his predecessor. The three first call him brother (*mal*) of the latter. The Vessagiri inscription (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 23 ff.) which must be placed palaeographically in the 10th cent. belongs to this King. He calls himself here Buddas Abhay Salamevan Dāpula, son of Buddas Sirisangboy Abahay and of Devā Rājna. The name Sirisanghabodhi can only apply to Senā II. or Kassapa IV. The latter is ruled out since according to the Sinhalese right of succession, sons of Kassapa IV. could not possibly come to the throne before Udaya III., the son of Mahinda, the younger brother of Sena II. Thus Dappula IV. (and of course his predecessor D. III.) was a brother of Kassapa V., but by another mother (Devā) who is however not mentioned in the Mhvs. The Etaviragollewa inscription AIC. nr. 117; EZ. II. 44 ff.) might be attributed either to Kassapa V. or to Dappula IV. The latter is the more likely, as Kassapa V. has as a rule, the special

- that time the Paṇḍu King through fear of the Coḷa (king)
 6 left his country, took ship and came to Mahātittha. The King
 had him brought to him, rejoiced greatly when he saw him,
 gave him an abundant income and granted him a dwelling
 7 outside the town. When the King of Laṅkā had armed (with
 the purpose): "I will make war on the Coḷa King, take from
 8 him his two thrones¹ and give them to the Paṇḍu King", the
 nobles dwelling on the Island for some reason or other stirred
 9 up a sorry strife to the undoing of the Paṇḍu King². The
 Paṇḍu King thought his sojourn here was of no use to him.
 He left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook
 10 himself to the Keraḷas³. When the strife was ended the King
 granted a village near the town to the temple of the great
 11 Bodhi Tree in the Mahāvihāra. His Senāpati Rakkhaka Ilaṅga
 built a dwelling house not far from the Thūpārāma, that was
 12 called after the King. The King kept to all that former kings
 had done and on reaching the twelfth year⁴ (of his reign) he
 passed away in accordance with his doing.
 13 The Yuvarāja Udaya⁵ now became monarch over the
 dwellers in Laṅkā. He invested the Ādipāda Sena by name,

title *de-bisevā-dā* (see notes to 52. 11 and 37) which is not the case with the king Abbhā Salamevan mentioned in that inscription. Further we have the Elleveva inscription of Dappula IV. (AIC. nr. 116) in which he calls himself Abbhā Salamevan Dāpuḷu. Lastly, the Mahādīpāda Udaya (afterwards U. III.) issued the Puliyankulam inscription (EZ. II. 44 ff.) in the last (12 th) year of the King's reign.

¹ P. *sayanaḍvayaṃ*. Thus in all MSS. with which I am acquainted. The Col. Ed. alters the word arbitrarily into *paṭṭanaḍvayaṃ*.

² Cf. with *pāpakammēna Paṇḍuno* the phrase *pāpēna Paṇḍuno* 52. 77. The two passages cannot be separated from one another.

³ A people settled on the Malabar coast of southern India where Malayālam is now spoken. The fact that a Paṇḍu king left his crown in Ceylon is confirmed by a south Indian inscription of King Rājendra Coḷa who boasts of having brought it back (Hulzsch, JRAS. 1913 p. 522).

⁴ Pūjāv. and Rājāv. also give Kuḍā Dāpuḷu a twelve years' reign. They tell of a victorious fight with the Damiḷas who came from the Soḷi land. Rājaratn. the same.

⁵ The Puliyankulam inscription (EZ. I. 182 ff., cf. note to v. 4) belongs to the time just before his ascent of the throne. It is dated in the

with the dignity of uparāja. At that time officials of the 14
Court fled for fear of the King to the Grove of the Penitents¹.
The King and the Uparāja went thither and had their heads
cut off. Being indignant at this deed, the ascetics dwelling 15
there left the King's land and betook themselves to Rohaṇa.
Thereupon the people in town and country and the troops 16
became rebellious like the ocean stirred by wild storm. They 17
climbed the Ratanapāsāda² in the Abhayuttara(-vihāra), terri-
fied the King by threats³, struck off the heads of the officials 18
who had helped the strife in the Penitent's Grove and flung
them out of the window. When the Yuvarāja and his friend, 19
the Ādipāda⁴, saw that, they sprang over the wall and fled
in haste to Rohaṇa. A division of troops pursued them to 20
the banks of the Kaṇha-nadī⁵, but as they could get no boats

twelfth year of Dappula IV. Udaya III. (II.) still calls himself here
Udā Mahayā, son of Mihind Mahayā and of Kittā. The title *mahayā*
must actually be *mahādīpāda*. Linguistically there are difficulties.
According to the example of *āpā* = *ādīpāda*, we should expect the *p*
to be retained in the joint of the compound. In the Galpota in-
scription at Polonnaruwa (C, l. 19; AIC. p. 99; EZ. II. p. 114) we have
the combination *āpā mahapā* which WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. l. 187, n. 7)
has pointed out. We meet also repeatedly in inscriptions with the
phrase *apā mahayā siri vindā* (EZ. I. 25, 91, 221) for which curiously
enough, *ayipaya mahapaya siri vindā* stands in the Jetavanārāma in-
scription of Mahinda IV. (l. 4, EZ. I. 234). From this it looks almost
as if *mahayā* were a specially worn down form of *mahādīpāda* or
mahāpāda. As regards the parents of Udā Mahayā, there is no doubt
that the father was Mahinda, a younger brother of Sena II. According
to 51. 7 he enjoyed the dignity of uparāja, was therefore Mahādīpāda,
and he was married to Kittī or Kittā (50. 60). He quarreled with
the King, was reconciled with him and bore from that time the title of
yuvarāja (for ex. 51. 15). But he never became king, since he died
according to 51. 63 before Sena II. He remained therefore as the in-
scription says *mahayā* all his life.

¹ P. *tapovana*. See note to 52. 22.

² See note to 48. 135.

³ Lit. "by showing him a horror". Cf. 53. 47.

⁴ The Yuvarāja is Sena (v. 13), his friend (v. 25) is Udaya, later King
Udaya IV.

⁵ P. *yāva Kaṇhanaditāṭaṃ*. The *Kaṇhanadī* seems to be the same
as *Kālanadī* (86. 40, 44), the river forming the boundary of Rohaṇa.

21 and the two were already across, they returned. The princes
 who in the Penitents' Grove had broken (the precept of) in-
 violability betook themselves to the ascetics, threw themselves
 22 to the ground at their feet, with their damp garments and
 hair, wailed much, lamented and whined and sought to con-
 23 ciliate the penitents. Through the influence of the peaceability
 and benevolence of the Masters of the Order¹ the good deeds
 24 of the Island princes told in their favour². When the army
 had calmed down, the inmates of the three fraternities
 25 went to pacify³ the troops of the Yuvarāja. The two
 princes who were cultured and well-instructed people turned
 imploringly to the Pamsukūlin(-bhikkhus)⁴, and returned with
 26 them to their town. At the head of the bhikkhus⁵ the King
 advanced towards them, obtained their pardon, took them
 with him, brought them back to their grove and betook him-
 27 self to the royal palace. From that time onwards the King
 observed the conduct of former kings and passed away in the
 third year⁶ (of his reign) in accordance with his deeds.

The princes were pursued up to this point. When they arrived in Rohaṇa their garments and hair were still damp from crossing that river (v. 22).

¹ P. *sāsanasāminam*. The word *sāmin* as title of honour of the bhikkhus corresponds to the *himiyā* so often used in inscriptions. Cf. also *mahāsāmin* 86. 38; 89. 64. See 52. 20 with note.

² P. *puññodayo ahu*. Cf. with this note to 37. 139. W.'s translation "the great kindness and longsuffering of these lords of religion moved the king towards the two offenders" is something quite different to what stands in the Text.

³ The alteration of the Text by the Col. Ed. into *te samānetum* is quite unnecessary. The reading of the MSS. *tosam ānetum* gives excellent sense.

⁴ The Ascetics are meant who had left the Penitents' Grove and gone to Rohaṇa. As the King was implicated in the wrong that had been committed in the Penitents' Grove, he had also to get their pardon (v. 26).

⁵ That is of those inmates of the three fraternities who were working for conciliation. At their head the king advances towards the ascetics coming from Rohaṇa in company of the princes.

⁶ Pājāv. 3 years; Rājāv. 8 years.

After receiving consecration as king in Laṅkā, the discern- 28
 ing Sena¹ made his friend, the Ādipāda Udaya, yuvarāja.
 A thousand kahāpaṇas the Ruler of men was wont to give 29
 away to the poor on the Uposatha day, being all his life
 long one who kept the Uposatha vow. To the bhikkhus the 30
 Ruler gave food and raiment for the images² and to mendi-
 cant artists the Daṇḍissara offering³. Having had built in 31
 various places for the bhikkhus graceful pāsādas, the Ruler
 granted them maintenance villages. At a cost of a thousand 32
 or five hundred kahāpaṇas he had ruined dwellings in Laṅkā
 restored. Forty thousand kahāpaṇas did the Ruler lay out 33
 for a stone paving⁴ of the Abhayuttara-cetiya. On the great 34
 tanks in Laṅkā he had the decayed outflow canals renewed
 and the dams made firm with stones and earth. In the royal 35
 palace he built a beautiful, costly house for flowers and he
 retained in full the almsgiving instituted by former kings.
 Once when visiting the Nāgasālā-pariveṇa built by the Ma- 36
 layarāja, the minister Aggabodhi, he granted it a village. In 37
 the four vihāras⁵ he set up in pious fashion sculptured figures,
 built beautiful maṇḍapas and held constantly sacrificial festi-
 vals for the relics. After performing these and even many 38
 other meritorious works of divers kind, he passed away in
 the ninth year⁶ (of his reign) in accordance with his deeds.

Hereupon the Yuvarāja Udaya⁷ received the consecration 39
 as King in Laṅkā and ordained as uparāja the Ādipāda Sena

¹ He was according to Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Rājāratn., the brother of his predecessor.

² So I understand the compound *paṭimābhattavattāni*. This would mean that a certain cult was accorded the images whereby food was placed before them and garments swathed about them.

³ Cf. note to 52. 3; 60. 22.

⁴ P. *sīlāpattharaṇatthāya*. It probably means the paving of the square terrace on which the thūpa stands.

⁵ Probably the four large monasteries Mahāvihāra, Jetavana, Abhayagiri with the Maricavaṭṭi-vihāra.

⁶ Pūjāv.: 9 years, Rājāv.: 3 years (mistake for Sena IV. see note to 54. 1).

⁷ None of our sources contain any information as so the relationship

40 by name. The King was slothful and a friend of spirituous
drinks to the undoing of his subjects¹. The Coḷa (king) hear-
41 ing of his sloth was greatly pleased, and as he wished to
achieve consecration as king in the Paṇḍu kingdom, he sent
(messengers) about the diadem and the other (things) which
42 the Paṇḍu (king) had left behind² (in Laṅkā). The King did
not give them up, so the mighty Coḷa equipped an army and
43 sent it forth to fetch them by force. Now at that time the
Senāpati here³ was absent in a rebellious border province.
The King had him fetched and sent him forth to begin the
44 war. The Senāpati set forth, delivered battle and fell in the
fight. Thereupon the King (Udaya⁴) took the crown and the
45 rest and betook himself to Rohaṇa. The Coḷa troops marched
thither, but finding no way of entering Rohaṇa they turned
and betook themselves through fear from here to their own
46 country. Thereupon the Ruler of Laṅkā appointed the general
Viduragga⁵, a man of great energy and discernment, to the
47 position of the Senāpati. The Senāpati laid waste the border-
land of the Coḷa King and forced him with threats⁶ to restore⁷

of Udaya IV. (III. in W.'s list) to his predecessor. WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. II. 59, Genealogical Tables) supposes him to have been a younger brother of Udaya III. (II.) and of Sena III. This makes it possible for him to insert Mahinda IV. in the genealogical tree. (See note to 54. 48).

¹ P. *pāpena jantunam*. Cf. 52. 77 and 53. 8 with note.

² See 53. 9.

³ I. e. in Ceylon, of course, or, as in v. 45 and 47, from Ceylon.

⁴ It is inexplicable why W. should have added to *rājā* so the words (of Coḷa). What could the Coḷa King then have done in Rohaṇa? On the other hand Rohaṇa has forever been the refuge of the Sinhalese kings after being worsted in fight with the Damiḷas. The meaning of the passage is accordingly (as HULTZSCH, JRAS. 1913, p. 525 rightly saw): the Coḷa King wins the battle, it is true, but King Udaya flees with the valuables which the former wants to get back — *makuṭādāni* in v. 44 must be the same as *makuṭādānam* in v. 41 — to Rohaṇa. The Coḷa troops pursue him, but as they cannot penetrate into Rohaṇa, they are obliged to return empty-handed. The Coḷa King therefore, did not get hold of the Crown jewels. HULTZSCH supposes the Coḷa King might have been Parāntaka I. who calls himself in his latest inscription (943/4—947/8) "conqueror of Ceylon". Cf. H. W. CODRINGTON, H. C. p. 39 f.

⁵ For the name *Viduragu* or *Vijuragu* see note to 51. 105.

⁶ See note to 53. 17.

⁷ P. *ānāpesi*: lit. "he had brought hither".

all that he had carried away from here (as booty). Thereupon 48
 the King had distributed to all the Pamsukūlika-bhikkhus
 dwelling on the Island articles of equipment in costly fashion.
 For the image of the Master in the Mahāvihāra the Monarch 49
 of Laṅkā fashioned a diadem of jewels which sparkled with
 the rays of precious stones. One of the ladies of the harem, 50
 Vidurā, honoured his stone image with a network of rays¹
 which glittered with jewels. When he had begun to rebuild 51
 the so-called Manipāsāda which the troops of the Coḷa King
 had burned down, he died in the eighth year (of his reign)².

These five rulers of the earth who ruled over an earth united 52
 under one umbrella and who had governed the whole world
 with severity and clemency, (they all) with wives and chil-
 dren, ministers, women and henchmen fell into the power of
 death. Hence should the wise ever be minded to give up
 sloth and pride.

Here ends the fifty-third chapter, called "The Five Kings",
 in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion
 of the pious.

¹ For *pāḍajāla* (mandorla) see note to 38. 64, as well as 52. 65.

² Pūjāv.: 8 years. Rājāv.: 3 years. But cf. note to 54. 6.

CHAPTER LIV

THE THREE KINGS

1 When thereupon Sena¹ had by inheritance attained con-
 2 secration as king in Laṅkā he made over the dignity of yu-
 3 varāja to the Ādipāda Mahinda². The King was wise, an ex-
 4 cellent poet, learned, impartial towards friend and foe, ever
 5 full of pity and goodwill. Without letting the right season
 pass, the god at that time sent showers of rain streaming in
 the right way, the people who dwelt in the land were ever
 happy and without fear. The King was wont sitting in the
 Lohapāsāda, surrounded by the inmates of the three frater-
 nities, to explain the Suttantas. He fashioned a casket for
 the Tooth Relic ornamented with various precious stones and

¹ In the Sinhalese sources the order of the kings after Dappula IV.
 (V) = Kuḍā Dāpuḷu is as follows:

Pūjāv.: Udā (3)	Rājāv.: Udā (8)	Rājar.: Udā	Nik.-s.: Udā
Sen (9)	Sen (3)	Sen	Sen
Udā (3)	Udā (3)	Udā	Udā
Sen (9)	Sen (9)	Sen	Pāsuḷu-Sen
Sen (3)	Sen (3)	Sen	Mādi-Sen

Mhvs. Udaya (2—3), Sena (8—9), Udaya (7—8), Sena (3). The figures in brackets denote the number of years reigned. The main difference is that the Sinhalese sources insert two Senas after Udaya IV. (III.) and before Mahinda IV. (see note to 54. 7) whereas Mhvs. has only one. We shall probably have to keep to the older source. It should be noted that Pūjāv. and Rājāv. call the last Sena of the above list the son of his predecessor.

² WICKREMASINGHE considers this Mahinda to be the later Mahinda IV., a younger brother of Sena IV., because in an inscription in the Jeta-vanārāma (EZ. I. 214) Mahinda IV. says of the Huligam-piriven, that his brother, the Great King, had begun it while he himself had finished it. This pariveṇa might be the one mentioned in v. 6. But cf. note to 54. 7.

in the four vihāras¹ he instituted, in divers ways, sacrificial festivals for the relics. After turning Sittthagāma where he had himself dwelt, into a pariveṇa and after protecting the world like a son he entered into Heaven after a three years' reign.

The Yuvarāja Mahinda² became king after him, rich in merit, rich in splendour, rich in military power, rich in fame. He united Lankā under one umbrella after overcoming the peril (threatened) by rebels. The chiefs of districts always upheld him. Although there was also in Lankā a race of nobles³, the Ruler of men had a princess of the line of the ruler of Kāliṅga fetched and made her his first mahesī. Of

¹ See note to 53. 37.

² P. GOLDSCHMIDT, E. MULLER and WICKREMASINGHE ascribe to King Mahinda IV. a series of inscriptions in which the author calls himself Sirisangboi-Abahay (Sirisamghabodhi Abhaya). These are: 1) a slab inscription in Vessagiri (EZ. I. 29); 2) the two well-known inscriptions halfway up the Mihintale mountain (EZ. I. 75); 3) the pillar inscription of Rāja-maliṅgāva in Polonnaruva (EZ. II. 49); 4) two slab inscriptions in the Jetavanātāma (EZ. I. 218); 5) a slab inscription in Vevelketiya (EZ. I. 241), with a parallel inscription in Kahata-gasdigiliya, BELL ASC., 7th Prog. Rep. 1891 = XIII. 1896, p. 51; 6) a slab inscription in Rambeva (EZ. II. 64). In addition there is 7) the pillar inscription of Mayilagastota in which the author merely calls himself *apā Mihindu*, that is Ādipāda, not king. No. 1 is the most certain because the author in addition to his biruda SSB. calls himself Mihindu, and because in it the Senāpati Sena is mentioned with an allusion to the successful campaign against the Damiḷas, which is mentioned in Mhvs. 54. 12. For the rest there are certain difficulties. The author of inscrs. 2 and 3 names as his parents Salamevan (Silāmeghavanṇa) — which fits Kassapa V. father of Mahinda IV — and Dev Gon. Inscr. 7 however, speaks of these as Salamevan and Sang Gon. Again they are called in inscrs. 4 and 6 Sirisangbo and Dev Gon. In nr. 5 the father is likewise called Sirisangbo while no mother is mentioned. WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. I. 218) explains the difference in the father's name by assuming that Kassapa V. used both birudas SSB. and SMV., a way out of the difficulty which I adopt very unwillingly, being more inclined to believe in a regular alternation of the two epithets. The difficulty with Dev Gon and Sang Gon has not been got rid of. Cf. below note to 54. 48.

³ *Vijjamāne* must be supplemented by *vaṃse* from pāda d.

- 11 her were born two sons and a charming daughter. He made his sons ādipādas and his daughter a queen: thus the Ruler founded the royal house of the Sihalas.
- 12 The Vallabha King¹ sent a force to Nāgadīpa to subdue
 13 this our country. The Ruler hearing this, the King sent thither the Senāpati Sena by name, to whom he had made over an army, to fight with the troops of the Vallabha King.
- 14 The Senāpati betook himself thither, fought with the troops of this (Vallabha) King, defeated them and remained master
 15 of the battlefield. As the kings with the Vallabha (king) at their head, were unable to vanquish our King, they made a
 16 friendly treaty with the ruler of Laṅkā. In this way the fame of the King penetrated to Jambudīpa, spreading over Laṅkā and crossing the Ocean.
- 17 The priests who preached the true doctrine the King treated with the most marked distinction. He hearkened to the doctrine and believed in the Order of the Buddha. The King assembled the Pāmsukūlin bhikkhus, invited them in a friendly
 19 manner and had them brought into his house. He had seats prepared for them, made them sit down and had pure² food abundantly set before them, and this always as on the one
 20 day³. To the ascetics living in the wilderness⁴ the King sent continually food pure, costly and abundant, with all kinds of
 21 seasoning. To sick ascetics the King who was a fount of pity, sent physicians and sought continually to heal them.
- 22 Pieces of sugar baked in melted butter, juice of garlic, and betel as sweet odour for the mouth, he gave them always as
 23 dessert. He had the alms-bowls of the Pāmsukūlika bhikkhus filled with garlic, black pepper⁵, long pepper⁶ and ginger,

¹ For Vallabha, which is not a personal name as W. thinks, see note 47. 15. On Sena's campaign see note to v. 7.

² P. *suddha* pure in a ritual sense. What is meant are foods of which ascetics may also eat.

³ W.'s translation: "thus did he always, as if it seemed to him the work of one day" is certainly wrong.

⁴ See notes to 41. 99, 52. 22, 53. 14.

⁵ P. *marica*, Piper nigrum.

⁶ P. *pippālī*. Piper longum.

sugar and the three kinds of myrobalans¹ and to every single 24
 (bhikkhu) he distributed continually melted butter, oil and
 honey. as also cloaks and blankets². All necessities such as 25
 clothing and the like the Ruler had made and distributed
 among the Pamsukūlin bhikkhus. In the Mahāvihāra the King 26
 had new cloth to make robes therewith provided for every
 single bhikkhu. To the Lābhavāsīn bhikkhus³ dwelling in 27
 the three fraternities the Ruler twice dispensed (rice) equal
 in weight to that of his body. The decree "Kings shall in 28
 future take no revenues for themselves out of the revenues
 of the Order" the King had engraved in stone and set (the
 stone) up⁴. He made poor people recite the formula of the 29
 (threefold) refuge⁵ and the nine qualities⁶ of the Buddha and
 then gave them food and clothing. He built an alms-hall on 30
 the grounds of the Elephant House and gave to beggars alms
 and couches. In all the hospitals he distributed medicine and 31
 beds, and he had food given regularly to criminals in prison.
 To apes, the wild boar, the gazelle and to dogs he, a fount 32
 of pity, had rice and cakes distributed as much as they would.
 In the four vihāras the King had raw rice laid down in heaps 33
 with the injunction that the poor should take of it as much
 as they wanted. While holding various sacrificial festivals 34
 and while instituting a great feast he had the Vinaya re-
 cited by learned bhikkhus. Having made presents to him he 35

¹ P. *tiphala* = skr. *triphala*, the fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*, *Terminalia bellerica* and *Phyllanthus emblica* (P. *haritaka*, *vibhītaka*, *āmalaka*).

² P. *pāpurattharaṇāni* is an abbreviation of *pāpuraṇa-attharaṇāni*.

³ It is clear from 60. 68, 72, that the Lābhavāsīns like the Pamsukūlins formed a group of ascetics within the great community.

⁴ It is of course, impossible to determine to what inscription of the King this alludes. The Mihintale plates as far as I can see, have no injunction identical with the above.

⁵ P. *saraṇāni*. What is meant is the formula *buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi, dhammaṃ s. g., saṃghaṃ s. g.* which is usually repeated three times.

⁶ P. *gūṇe nava*. Cf. on the navagūṇa formula *iti pi so bhagavā* etc. CHILDERS, PD. s. v.

had a commentary to the Abhidhamma written by the Thera Dhammamitta¹ who dwelt in the Siṭthagāma(-pariveṇa)².
 36 By the Thera called Dāṭhānāga, dwelling in the wilderness, an ornament of Laṅkā, he had the Abhidhamma recited.
 37 He paid honour to the Hemamālika-cetiya by the gift of a covering of stuff, by dance and song, by perfumes and flowers
 38 of divers kinds, by garlands of lamps and incense of many kinds, and he presented the bhikkhus there with raiment which
 39 he himself distributed among them. Continually from the gardens³ here and there in his kingdom he had flowers brought
 40 and paid honour therewith to the three Jewels. He began to build the pāsāda called Candana in the Maricavaṭṭi(-vihāra)
 41 and granted the bhikkhus maintenance villages. There the Ruler had the Hair Relic preserved, had fashioned (for it) a reliquary of jewels and (this) set up as a dedicatory gift.
 42 The Ruler had the cetiya in the Thūpārāma covered with stripes of gold and silver and instituted for it a sacrificial
 43 festival in accordance with his royal dignity. In the relic temple there the King had a golden door put up like to
 44 Mount Sineru⁴ gleaming in the beams of the sun. He restored the beautiful temple of the four cetiyas in Padalañchana⁵ which had been burnt down by the troops of the Coḷa King.
 45 (In like manner) he restored the burnt temple of the Tooth Relic⁶ in the centre of the town, the Dhammasaṅgaṇi
 46 house⁷ and the Mahāpāli Hall. The Ruler having had a betel-maṇḍapa⁸ built, made over the earnings from it to the

¹ WICKREMASINGHE (EZ. I. 215) supposes that this thera might be the thera mentioned in an inscription of Mahinda's in the Jetavana as *Mahādāmi* (P. *mahādhammika*).

² See above v. 6.

³ The loc. *uyyānesu* stands here instead of the abl.

⁴ Name of the mythical mountain Meru (Sumeru, Hemameru). See 37. 79.

⁵ See 52. 63.

⁶ Evidently the temple mentioned 37. 93-95 which was situated near the palace, thus *nagaramajjhamhi*.

⁷ See 52. 50-51. This building also was situated *nagaramajjhamhi*.

⁸ I. e. a pavilion where betel was sold.

bhikkhus of the Thera School¹ for (the purchase of) medicines. He built a home called Mahāmallaka and made it over 47 to the bhikkhunīs proceeding from the Thera School. Now 48 too the Monarch completed the so-called Maṇipāsāda, begun by his mother's brother, the pious King Udaya². Four officials 49 of the King thereupon had four pariveṇas built in the Jeta-vana. The gracious consort of the King Kittī by name, his 50 equal in fame, built a beautiful pariveṇa west of the Thūpārama and in this pariveṇa, in Kappāsagāma and in the Cīvara- 51 cetiya she laid down three pure bathing tanks. To the Hema- 52 mālika-cetiya she dedicated, rich in meritorious works, a golden banner twelve cubits long. For the laity her son built a ho- 53 spital in the town, and the able Sakkasenānī³ one for bhikkhus outside of the town. In the four vihāras the King had maṇ- 54 ḍapas erected, like to heavenly palaces and by holding sacrificial festivals in divers ways for the relics for longer than 55

¹ P. *theravaṃse* (loc. instead of gen. -*sassa*). W. remarks about this passage that the Thera bhikkhus "traced their line of succession from the great apostle Mahinda". The term *theriyā* however, goes back (Mhvs. 3. 40) to the First Council. The expression *vaṃsa* is used here as in 52. 63, figuratively for "School", likewise again in v. 47.

² The drawing up of the family tree of Mahinda IV. is beset with difficulties. WICKREMASINGHE (plate to EZ. II. 59) has tried very ingeniously to remove them. He assumes that Udaya IV. was the younger brother of Sena III., and Sena IV. (cf. note to 54. 1) the elder brother of Mahinda IV. In this way as Samghā the wife of Kassapa V. (see 51. 18) was a sister of Udaya IV., the latter could be called the *mātula* of Mahinda IV. Two objections remain. Udaya IV. is twice (53. 19 and 28) called the "friend" of Sena III. This term used of a younger brother is surprising. Further, the mother of Mahinda IV. was, if the Mihintale plates are really his, not Samghā, but the Devā mentioned 52. 64. — Possibly the following hypothesis may help to clear up the matter. Kassapa V. had two sons called Mahinda, one by Samghā, and one by Devā. The first is the Mahinda mentioned in 51. 99 ff., the author of the Mayilagastota inscription (Nr. 7 in note to 54. 7) He never became king but died earlier, of which however we have no account. The second Mahinda is the later king Mahinda IV. Let us assume further that Devā, the second wife of Kassapa V. as to whose origin we know nothing, was a half-sister of Samghā, then Udaya IV. would be the *mātula* of Mahinda IV. I must point out that my Udaya IV. is W.'s U. III.

³ The same as *sakkasenāpati*. See 52. 52. This is probably the son of the Sakkasenāpati (the son of Kassapa V.), who (52. 79) after his father's death, inherited his dignity.

56 a year, he kept to the pious ways of former kings. Having thus performed these and other eminent, meritorious works in sundry ways the King entered in the sixteenth year (of his reign) into the heaven of the gods¹.

57 Sena, the twelve years old son of the King² by the Kālinga
58 princess now came to the throne. The position of yuvarāja he conferred on his younger brother Udaya. Sena, his father's
59 senāpati, was also his senāpati. Once when the Senāpati was away with the army in the border country he had his younger
60 brother Mahāmalla³ who had committed an offence⁴ with his mother, slain and made a court official Udaya by name, who
61 was loyal to him, senāpati. When the Senāpati Sena heard this he was wroth and came with his army, intending to take
62 his foes captive. Hearing the tidings thereof the Monarch thought: I shall bring herewith my court official who has (always) carried out my decrees, into safety, left (the town)
63 and betook himself to Rohaṇa⁵. But his mother turned back, took the Yuvarāja (Udaya) and the Queen with her, and wroth with him (the King), summoned the Senāpati (Sena)
64 to her⁶. Supported therein by her, he collected Damiḷas, gave over the country to them and took up his abode in Pulatthi-
65 nagara. To fight him the King sent troops from Rohaṇa, but the Senāpati annihilated the whole army of the King.

¹ Pūjāv., Rājāv. and Nik.-s. call the King Kuḍā-Midel, Rājar. Midel-Salā. Pūjāv. gives him a reign of 16, Rājāv. one of 12 years.

² Thus according to the reading *īājam* of the Col. Ed. which I now prefer to *rājā* of the MSS. *Jāto paṭicca taṃ rājam*, lit. born to the king.

³ W. connects *Mahāmallaṃ* wrongly with *Udayaṃ*, whereas it belongs to *bhātaraṃ* in 59 d.

⁴ W.'s translation: "who dwelt in his mother's house" says nothing and misses the point. As regards the meaning I have adopted for *vattantaṃ*, I refer the reader to skr. *vart* (BR. s. v., 7) which is likewise used in the sense of forbidden sexual intercourse with a woman.

⁵ The reading of the text and the translation are very doubtful. W.'s rendering: "And when the King heard thereof, he departed and fled to Rohaṇa taking with him the minister who had been as a slave unto him, and whom he regarded as his saviour" can scarcely be reconciled with the text as contained in the Col. Ed.

⁶ The Queen-mother is angry with her son because he has done away with her lover, so takes the part of the Senāpati Sena, the elder brother of the murdered man.

The Damiḷas now plundered the whole country like devils 66
 and pillaging, seized the property of its inhabitants. In their 67
 distress the people betook themselves to Rohaṇa to the King
 and told him of the matter. He took counsel with his ministers
 and to protect the Order of the Buddha, he sent his Senāpati 68
 (Udaya) forth from the kingdom¹, made a treaty with (the
 Senāpati) Sena and came to Pulatthinagara. He made the 69
 daughter of the latter his mahesī, to continue his line. With
 her he begot an excellent son, called Kassapa. But while now 70
 the Ruler of Laṅkā had his abode there² his low class³ favou-
 rites who obtained no leave from their teacher to drink
 surā, praised in his presence⁴ the advantages of drinking in- 71
 toxicating liquors and induced the Ruler to drink. After
 taking intoxicating drinks he was like a wild beast gone mad.
 As he could no longer digest food the Ruler had to surrender 72
 the dearly-won place and died in the tenth year (of his reign),
 still youthful in years⁵.

When they see from this that the yielding to evil friends 73
 leads to destruction, let those who seek their highest good
 here or hereafter, avoid such (evil friends) as a snake full of
 deadly poison.

Here ends the fifty-fourth chapter, called "The Three
 Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and
 emotion of the pious.

¹ The Col. Ed. changes the *ratthā* of the MSS. into *rattham* which then stands next to *sāsanaṃ*. We miss *ca.* W. translates after the Col. Ed. text, "to save the religion and his country".

² Namely in Pulatthinagara.

³ P. *hīnaja*. W.'s translation "who cared not for him" is wrong.

⁴ Thus, if my conjecture *tassa santike* instead of *tassa sattavo* is right. If one keeps to *sattavo*, then the passage would have to be translated thus: "his low-class favourites who otherwise found no opportunity of drinking surā, being his teachers (and at the same time) his foes, praised the advantages etc.".

⁵ The Sinhalese sources call the King Salamevan after his biruda (Sīlāmeghavaṇṇa). His predecessor had the surname Sirisaṃghabodhi. Pujāv. and Rājāv. give Salamevan a reign of 10 years. They tell of his initial successes against the Damiḷas and of his conflict with the Senāpati who then brought an army of 95000 Damiḷas into the country.

CHAPTER LV

THE PILLAGE OF LAṆKĀ

- 1 The Prince Mahinda¹, his younger brother, who after
 his death raised the white umbrella in splendid Anurādhapura
 2 which was full of strangers brought hither by the Senāpati Sena,
 3 abode there ten years amid difficult circumstances². As he wandered
 from the path of statecraft and was of very weak character,
 the peasants did not deliver him his share of the produce.
 4 As the Prince in his tenth year had entirely lost his fortune,
 he was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay.
 5 All the Keraḷas³ who got no pay planted themselves one
 with another at the door of the royal palace, determined on
 6 force, bow in hand, armed with swords and (other) weapons,
 (with the cry) "So long as there is no pay he shall not eat."
 7 But the King duped them. Taking with him all his moveable
 goods he escaped by an underground passage⁴ and betook
 8 himself in haste to Rohaṇa. In Sīdupabbatagāma he set up
 an armed camp and took up his abode there, after making
 9 his brother's wife mahesī. When she died shortly after, he
 10 raised his brother's daughter to the rank of mahesī. When
 of this Queen a son was born who received the name of
 11 Kassapa, the Ruler gave up the stronghold inhabited by him

¹ We hear nothing of the reasons why Udaya who according to 54. 58, was appointed yuvarāja, did not come to the throne.

² P. *kicchena* ("with trouble") *dasā vacchare*. W. has "twelve years".

³ See note to 53. 9. The Keraḷas were enlisted as mercenaries by the Sihala king.

⁴ The Kauṭaliya speaks I. 20. 1 ff. of secret exits, underground tunnels which have to be made in the royal palace (*antaḥpura*). Cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, trsl. by R. SHAMASAstry, p. 45 ff., J. J. MEYER, *Das Altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, p. 49. The skr. expression in the Kauṭaliya is *suruṅgā*. See O. STEIN, *ZII.* 3. 313.

and founded a town at the village of Kappagallaka and dwelt, carrying on the government, for long time among the people of Rohaṇa. But in the remaining parts of the country Keraḷas, 12 Sīhalas and Kaṇṇāṣas¹ carried on the government as they pleased. But a horse-dealer who had come hither from the 13 opposite coast, told the Coḷa King on his return about the conditions in Laṅkā. On hearing this, the powerful (prince), 14 with the purpose of taking possession of Laṅkā, sent off a strong body of troops. They landed speedily in Laṅkā. From 15 the spot where they disembarked, oppressing the mass of the inhabitants, the Coḷa army advanced on Rohaṇa. In the six 16 and thirtieth year of the King's reign the Coḷas seized the Maheśī², the jewels, the diadem, that he had inherited, the whole of the (royal) ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet, 17 a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword and the relic of the torn strip of cloth³. But the Ruler himself who had fled 18

¹ *Kaṇṇāṣa* embraced the territory of the present Mysore and adjoining strips of country. The name is preserved in that of the Kanarese language. LSL. IV. 362.

² For the acc. *maheśiṃ* etc., the governing verb *agaṇḥimsu* must be taken from v. 18. To the articles of the regalia (*rājasādhana* or *rāja-bhaṇḍa*) belong also the umbrella (*chatta*) and the so-called *ekāvalī*, a chain consisting of one row of pearls. Their possession means at the same time that of the royal dignity. In times of danger, therefore, the first thing the king does is to secure the insignia (41. 20). A new king takes care to get hold of them in order to legalize therewith his possession of the throne. Thus Moggallāna I. after the suicide of Kassapa I. (39. 28), so also in Rohaṇa the aunt of Mahinda after his murder (*desaṃ gaṇḥi sasādhanaṃ*, 50. 51; cf. also 48. 89). After the death of Aggabodhi IV. as there is no heir, the people take charge of the *rājabhāṇḍaṃ* (46. 38). After the death of Mahālānakitti the Coḷas take possession of the diadem and the other valuables (*kirīṭādhānaṃ* 56. 10). The Coḷa king claims therewith symbolically the dominion over Laṅkā. When Aggabodhi III. flees, he takes the string of pearls *ekāvalī* with him. It is expressly said of Dāthopatisa, that he became king without the *ekāvalī* (44. 127-8), thus something of his dignity is wanting. It is significant too, that when Saṃghatissa's royal umbrella by a mere accident falls into the hands of the rebel Moggallāna the army at once recognises him as the legitimate king (44. 18—20).

³ W. translates: "and the sacred forehead band" and adds in a note

in fear to the jungle, they captured alive, with the pretence
 19 of making a treaty. Thereupon they sent the Monarch and all
 the treasures which had fallen into their hands at once to
 20 the Coḷa Monarch. In the three fraternities and in all Laṅkā
 (breaking open) the relic chambers, (they carried away) many
 21 costly images of gold¹ etc., and while they violently
 destroyed here and there all the monasteries, like blood-
 sucking yakkhas² they took all the treasures of Laṅkā for
 22 themselves. With Pulatthinagara as base, the Coḷas held sway
 over Rājaraṭṭha³ as far as the locality known as Rakkha-
 23 pāsāṇakaṇṭha. People in the kingdom took the young prince
 Kassapa and brought him up, carefully protecting him through
 24 fear of the Coḷas. When the Coḷa King heard that the boy had
 reached his twelfth year, he sent high officials with a large
 25 force to seize him. They brought with them warriors a hundred
 thousand less five thousand (in number) and they ransacked

“the term is of doubtful meaning, but it evidently refers to the fillet worn round the forehead”. This translation of *chunnapaṭṭiḷādhātuka* is perhaps not impossible. Apparently a piece of stuff is meant of the Buddha's dress which belonged as highly prized relic to the regalia of the Sinhalese kings.

¹ For the acc. *dhātugabbhe* in v. 20 we must take as governing verb the gerund *bhinditvā* from v. 21 and from the same verse *aggahum* for governing *paṭṭumbhe* in v. 20.

² The *ojohārino yakkhā* correspond to the vampires of Slav popular belief. F. S. KRAUSS, *Slavische Volksforschungen*, p. 124 ff.

³ The designation so frequently used later of *Rājaraṭṭha* “King's Province” for northern Ceylon is used in contrast to Rohaṇa (cf. for ex. 70. 184 f.) as well as to Dakkhinadesa (for ex., 72. 176-79). Later the name *Paṭiṭṭhāraṭṭha* is substituted for it (s. note to 82. 26). The Coḷa king who conquered Ceylon was, according to HULTZSCH, JRAS. 1913, p. 522 ff.) Parakesarivarman alias Rājendra-Coḷa I. who in the Tirumalai Rock Inscription (EI. IX, p. 229 ff.) boasts of having seized the crown of the king of Ceylon, the crowns of the queens of that king, as well as the “crown and the necklace of Indra” which the king of the South (i. e. the Pāṇḍya king) had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon. The conquest of Ceylon is first recorded in inscriptions of Rājendra's 6th year = 1017-8 A. D., but not mentioned in those of the 5th year, and consequently it must have taken place in A. D. 1017. See also H. W. COCHRINGTON, H. C., p. 40, 53.

the whole province of Rohaṇa in every direction. A court 26 official called Kittī, who dwelt in Makkhakudrūsa, and a minister named Buddha, a native of Māragallaka¹, these two vali- 27 ant men, well versed in the ways of war, made the resolve to destroy the Coḷa army completely. At a place called Pa- 28 luṭṭhagiri² they took up fortified positions, carried on war for six months and killed a great number of Damiḷas. The 29 Coḷas who had survived the slaughter in this fight, seized with fear, fled and took up their abode as before in Pulatthinagara. When thereupon the Prince saw the two victorious 30 officials, he was highly pleased and spake to them (thus): "Choose a wish my friends". Buddha asked as wish for the 31 village in which his family dwelt; Kittī chose as wish that the part of his revenues which the bhikkhu community had appropriated might be remitted. After the most excellent of 32 officials had their wishes fulfilled by the most excellent of princes, these brave men, fearless, and full of humility, worshipped his feet.

King Mahinda dwelt twelve years in Coḷa land and entered 33 into heaven in the forty-eighth year³ (from his ascent of the throne).

Thus fortune's goods if they were gained by one smitten 34 with indolence, are not abiding. Therefore should the prudent man, who strives after his salvation, ever display ceaseless endeavour.

Here ends the fifty-fifth chapter, called "The Pillage of Laṅkā", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ For Māragallaka, now Maragala see note to 48. 129.

² Cf. 58. 18 with note.

³ Cf. v. 16. Pūjāv. and Rājāv. ascribe a reign of 48 years to Mahinda, without a word about anything that happened during it. According to them the arrival of the 95000 Damiḷas took place in the time of his predecessor.

CHAPTER LVI

THE SIX KINGS

1 After they had given the name of Vikkamabāhu to the
 Monarch's son, all the Sihalas acted full of humility according
 2 to his command. The King collected by every means, money
 for defeating the Damiḷas, showing, as was meet, favour to
 3 his adherents. At the request of his court officials he had
 ornament and diadem, umbrella and throne made ready for
 4 the festival of the King's consecration, but he refused (the
 festival with the words): "What boots me the ceremony of
 the raising of the umbrella so long as the possession of Rā-
 5 jaratṭha¹ is not achieved?" Then the mighty (Prince) assem-
 bled a hundred thousand men. But as at the time when the
 campaign should have begun, he was suffering from the wind
 6 disease², he thought it not the time to carry on war and
 entered suddenly in the twelfth year (of his reign) into the
 city of gods and came into the company of the gods³.

7 A court official called Kittī, who was invested with the
 dignity of senāpati, aspired to the kingship and maintained
 his authority for eight days.

8 He was slain by the mighty Mahālānakitti, who attained
 consecration as king, and holding sway over the province called
 9 Rohaṇa, was vanquished in his third year in battle against

¹ Vikkamabāhu is still restricted to Rohaṇa. See note to 55. 22.

² P. *vātaroga*. For the various diseases which Indian medicine groups under this term (*vātavyādhi*) see JOLLY, *Medicin*, p. 118 f.

³ The same length of reign (12 years) is ascribed to Vikkamabāhu by Pūjāv. and Rājāv. They say of him, though certainly wrongly, that he drove out the Damiḷas who had entered the country under his father. Rājar. and Nik.-s. merely mention his name.

the Coḷas and with his own hand he cut his throat and so died a sudden death¹.

Thereupon the Damiḷas took the chief treasures, such as 10 the diadem and the like and sent them to the Monarch of the Coḷa land. The only son of the Prince (Mahālānakitti) known 11 by the name of Vikkamapaṇḍu, had through fear left his kingdom and was sojourning in the Duḷu country. But when 12 he had tidings of the events in Laṅkā, he betook himself to the province of Rohaṇa, and dwelling in Kālalittha², carried on the government there for a year³.

Then a powerful prince of the line of Rāma, known by 13 the name of Jagatīpāla, a Sovereign's son who had come from the town Ayojjha⁴, slew Vikkamapaṇḍu in battle and 14 ruled as a mighty man in Rohaṇa four years⁵. Him also the 15 Coḷas slew in battle and sent the Mahesī with her daughter and all the valuable property to the Coḷa kingdom.

Then King Parakkama, son of the Paṇḍu King, reigned⁶ 16 two years⁷. The Coḷas slew him also when fighting with him.

These (princes) who were too much swayed by the power 17 of desire, went without exception, helplessly to destruction. When the wise man has recognised this, he will doubtless ever be bent on the annihilation of desire.

Here ends the fifty-sixth chapter, called "The Six Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The Sinhalese sources pass over Kittī entirely. They call his successor Mahālānakitti Mahālō. He reigned according to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. 3 years.

² Now Kalutara at the mouth of the Kaluganga.

³ According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Vikramapaṇḍi had reigned 3 years.

⁴ Skr. *Ayodhya*, the present Oudh in India, situated on the river Gogra.

⁵ Pūjāv. the same; Rājāv. 1 year.

⁶ *Akā* must be supplemented by *rajjan* from v. 14. Vikkamapaṇḍu is probably meant by the Paṇḍu King.

⁷ Pūjāv. 1 year; Rājāv. 6 years. In Rājāv. the name is missing. In Pūjāv. he is called Parākramapaṇḍi, in Rājāv. Parākramabāhu-pāṇḍi, in Nik.-s. Parākramapaṇḍiya.

CHAPTER LVII

THE SUBJUGATION OF THE ENEMIES OF ROHAṆA

- 1 An army leader called Loka¹, who dwelt in Makkha-kudrūsa, a trustworthy, determined man, capable of breaking
 2 the arrogance of the Coḷas, after bringing the people over to his side, took possession of the government in the district of Rohaṇa and dwelt in Kājaragāma², versed in the conduct determined by custom.
 3 Ad that time there lived a powerful prince of the name of Kittī. The history of his lineage will now be told in the sequel³.

¹ In the Sinhalese sources he is called *Lokesvara*. Pūjāv. gives him a reign of six years. The end of Loka's reign is related 57. 45-64. For the following period of Sinhalese history it is very difficult to bring the statements of South Indian inscriptions into accordance with those of the *Cūlavamsa*. I refer to HULTZSCH, JRAS. 1913, p. 519-21; H. W. COCHRAN, H. C., p. 55 ff. ² See note to 45. 45.

³ From the way it is introduced, the following section seems to be taken from a new source, possibly (see note to 45. 37) from what I have called the "Chronicle of Rohaṇa". There are however certain differences between its statements and the rest of the contents of the *Cūlavamsa*. That the Kassapa in v. 4 is meant for Kassapa II. (44. 144, 45. 1 ff.) seems certain. But there is a confusion about the names Māna and Mānavamma. Māna is called the eldest son of Kassapa II. in 45. 6. The question is whether he is identical with the Mānavamma who later (47. 2, 62) ascends the throne. In the Rohaṇa Chronicle (57. 5) the elder son of Kassapa is called Mānavamma, the younger who comes to the throne, 57. 14, Māna, but in 57. 25 Mānavamma. Of all the difficulties which according to the *Cūlavamsa* (47. 2 ff.) preceded Mānavamma's ascent of the throne, the Rohaṇa Chronicle apparently says nothing. A similar difference exists as regards the names of the sons of Dappula I. According to the Rohaṇa Chronicle the eldest of these is Mānavamma; the *Cūlavamsa* speaks of the sister's son of Kassapa II. only as Māna.

King Kassapa had a son known by the name of Māna. 4
 He was ādipāda, a brave man and distinguished by his good
 conduct. His elder brother the wise Mānavamma had at one 5
 time seated himself on the bank of the river in the neigh-
 bourhood of Gokaṇṇaka¹ and had made full preparations ac- 6
 cording to custom for an incantation. He began after taking
 the rosary² in his hand, to murmur the magic verse. To him 7
 there appeared Kumāra on his riding bird³. The peacock pecked
 with its beak at the plate with the offerings⁴, but finding no 8
 drink in the old coconut shell with its holes, out of which
 the water had run⁵, he flew at the magician's face⁶. The latter 9
 thinking⁷ (only) of future success, offered it his eye. The
 peacock slit it open and drank thereout violently. Kumāra 10
 was pleased, he granted the Prince his prayed-for wish and
 departed brightly gleaming through the air⁸. When his 11
 court officials beheld Mānavamma with his destroyed eye, they
 grieved, but he comforted the people by telling them of the

¹ See note to 41. 79.

² See note to 46. 17.

³ The God Skanda, who is worshipped in Kājaragāma, riding on the peacock which is sacred to him. HOPKINS, *Epic Mythology* p. 227.

⁴ P. *balipaṭṭam*. W. has a note to this: "The tray or bowl in which food, flowers, etc. are presented to spirits at the performances of magical rites". P. *paṭṭa* may mean "tray", but for "bowl" we should expect *patta* = skr. *pātra*.

⁵ W.: "Water is generally placed in a coconut shell on the altar for the benefit of the evil spirit".

⁶ P. *japantassa mukhaṃ gato*. W. translates this by: "He went up and stood in the presence of the wizard". That is misleading.

⁷ P. *bhāvinīṃ saddhūṃ apekkhaṃ*. W. interprets the passage quite differently. He translates: "The wizard remembered the Bhāvinī siddhi" and remarks thereto in the note: "A course of action under certain emergencies, prescribed in magical rites".

⁸ Popular tradition places the legend of the incantation described in v. 5 ff. in the Vākirigala-vihāra in the Kegalla District. The magician is mentioned only by his later monk's name of Mayūrapāda. The Vākirigala-vihāra is said to have been called in former times Mayūrapāda-pāya after him. BELL, *Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 45.

12 fulfilment of his wish. Thereupon his companions were content and urged him to come to Anurādhapura and carry out
 13 his consecration as king. "What boots me the royal dignity now that I have a maimed body? I will practise asceticism as soon as I have undergone the ceremony of world-renun-
 14 ciation. Let my younger brother, Māna by name, preserve the inherited reign of Laṅkā." With that he rejected the royal
 15 dignity which had come to him. Having thoroughly grasped his purpose, his court officials sent people to tell that his younger
 16 brother. At the tidings thereof, the brother came speedily hither, sought out his brother, fell at his feet, wept and grieved
 17 sore and betook himself along with the elder brother, to Anurādhapura where in accordance with the purposes of the
 18 elder (brother), he took over the crown. Hereupon he betook himself to Abhayagiri and doing reverence, besought the ascetics for admission for his brother to the ceremony of world-
 19 renunciation. Thereupon the ascetics carried out with the cripple the ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission
 20 into the Order without regard to the regulations¹. The Ruler built for him the superb pariveṇa Uttaromūla and made him
 21 head of the pariveṇa. He placed under him there six hundred bhikkhus, gave him the seven supervisory officials² and the
 22 five groups of servitors³. He gave him further assistants who

¹ According to the Vinaya (Mahāvagga I. 71 = Vin. ed. OLDENBERG I. p. 91) cripples are not admitted to the Order.

² P. *paṭihāre satta*. According to Abhp. 1018, *paṭihāra* is equivalent to *dvārapālaka*. That is too narrow an interpretation if it is a case here of "seven *paṭihārā*". The word probably means in general a monastery official. In fact the Mihintale tablet A (line 20-21) enumerates seven of these: 1) *veher-pirvahanuvā*, 2) *niyam-jeṭṭu*, 3) *ā-kāmiyā*, 4) *pasak-kāmiyā*, 5) *veher-leyā*, 6) *karaṇḍ-leyā*, 7) *karaṇḍu-atsamu*. For attempts at explaining these difficult terms see WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. I. 101. In slab B, line 5 an eighth is added, *sārāyin-gannak*. The *mangul-jeṭṭak* mentioned here in line 6 corresponds probably to the *niyam-jeṭṭu* in A.

³ Cf. 67. 58, as well as 84. 5. In the last passage, in addition to the five groups of servants, ten others are also distinguished. W. says in a note to our passage that the five mean "carpenters, weavers, dyers, barbers and workers in leather". I believe rather that what is meant

were versed in various handicrafts and placed under him the guardians of the Tooth Relic. His (the King's) counsellors were the bhikkhus of the Abhayagiri(-vihāra) and the King protected the people wholly according to his (brother's) advice. But certain people who were of his lineage, but had no desire for world-renunciation, dwelt as they liked and were addressed by the title of "Great Lord"¹. From the pure race of this King Mānavamma versed in the law and in statecraft, that was propagated in sons and grandsons with Aggabodhi² at the head, that was first among princely dynasties, there went forth sixteen (sovereigns) of equal birth who held legitimate sway in Laṅkā.

The monarch Mahinda had two (cousins) daughters of his mother's brother. These fair (maidens) were known by the names of Devalā und Lokitā. Of these two daughters, Lokitā conceived by the son of her father's sister³, the handsome prince Kassapa by name, two sons called Moggallāna and Loka⁴. The elder of these, versed in all the ways of the world and the Order, known by the title "Great Lord"⁵,

are workmen as enumerated in the Mihintale tablet B, line 7 ff. We have no idea it is true, of the principle on which the division of these servants into five or ten groups was made.

¹ P. *mahāsāmapadaṃsita* = Skr. *mahāsvāmipradarsita*. On the title *himyā* = P. *sāmī* used of bhikkhus see note to 52. 10.

² Aggabodhi V. It is true he is not mentioned by name in the list of kings in the Cūlavamsa, perhaps owing to a gap in the text. See above 48. 1 ff. It should be noted that here the King, father of Aggabodhi, is not called Māna as in v. 14, but Mānavamma. Cf. note to 57. 3.

³ P. *mātulattaṃ*. I am inclined to assume that *mātulā* here is used in the sense "father's sister". This would bring us back to the family tree as STILL has drawn it up in the Index to the Mhvs. Kassapa the husband of Lokitā, would then be the son of Mahinda V. (55.10), later King Vikkamabāhu I. (56. 1).

⁴ I take *Moggallānaṃ ca Lokavhe* for a disintegrated compound. The change into *Moggallānalokavhe* of the Col. Ed. is suggestive, but gets no support from the MSS.

⁵ This title apparently customary in Rohaṇa is derived according to 45. 50 from Dappula I.

zealous in the service of the community, a habitation of many choice virtues, took up his abode in Rohaṇa.

- 31 A grandson of King Dāṭhapatissa¹ who had undergone the ceremony of world-renunciation in the Order of the Holy Buddha,
 32 dwelt full of faith, practising asceticism, controlled by discipline, selfcontrolled in spirit, as hermit in a solitary spot. The gods who had pleasure in him, praised everywhere his virtue.
 33 When the Ruler of Laṅkā heard of his excellence, the fame of which had spread everywhere, he sought him out, bowed
 34 before him and sought to gain him as his counsellor². But as he would not, he besought him again and again, had him fetched and made him take up his abode in a finely built
 35 pāsāda. The King who prized highly the excellence of the Master of the ascetics, as long as he dwelt there, ruled the people in justice, walking in the way marked out by his ad-
 36 vice. But because the Master among ascetics in consequence of the invitation given him in honourable fashion by the Master of Laṅkā, had of his pity forsaken the mountain world³,
 37 and having gathered bhikkhus round him, had taken up his abode there, (the pāsāda) got the name of Selantara-
 38 samūha. Since that time the sovereigns of Laṅkā make a bhikkhu spend the night in a small temple⁴ of the gods and

¹ It is impossible to determine whether Dāṭhapatissa I or II. is meant here.

² The inf *kātum attānusāsanaṃ*, "to give him counsel" is governed by *ārādhayaṃ* in 34 a. Which King of Laṅkā is meant we do not know. Perhaps Mānavamma? The fragment vv. 31—39 has evidently only the object of leading from Mahinda from whom Kittī is descended on his father's side, to Dāṭhapatissa from whom he is descended on his mother's side through Lokitā (v. 41).

³ P. *selantara* lit. "rock interior" (perhaps = "rock cave") with reference to the name *Selantarasaṃmūha*. Cf *saṃmūhetvā* in v. 37 a.

⁴ P. *devapallī*. Cf. skr. *pallī* "hut". The whole passage is very curious. We are told here of a *mūlatṭhāna*, that is (according to v. 39) of the position of a premier and highest counsellor (cf. *mūlāmacca*, 69. 34; 70. 151). It is held by a bhikkhu who must be confirmed in it by a kind of oracle. This confirmation again is granted by the devatās, another proof of the way in which Buddhism is interwoven with popular ideas.

place him, if he has found favour with the deity, in the leading position and when they protect Order and people, they 39 act according to the counsel of the ascetics who hold the leading position.

By Prince Bodhi of the line of Dāṭhopatiṣṣa te Princess 40 Buddhā of like lineage conceived a daughter, Lokitā by name, 41 distinguished by most excellent marks. Afterwards she was wedded to the able Moggallāna. She conceived by him four 42 children, Kittī, the princess Mittā, Mahinda and Rakkhita. The eldest son (Kittī) was (already) in his thirteenth year a 43 plucky hero, and extremely skilled in the use of the bow. Swayed by one thought alone: how shall I become possessed 44 of Laṅkā once I have rid it of the briars of the foe? he dwelt in the village called Mūlasālā.

A powerful man known by the name of Buddharāja, quar- 45 relled at that time with the general Loka¹. He fled in haste 46 to the district called Cuppasālā and having there by every means made subject to himself many people, such as Kittī and others, he dwelt together with numerous warlike kindred at 47 the foot of the Malaya mountains where he was difficult to reach. To him there came a distinguished astrologer² Saṃgha 48 by name, and portrayed the character of the prince (Kittī) in favourable fashion. "The eldest son of the Great Lord 49 (Moggallāna), who bears the name of Kittī, carries on him the marks of power and is gifted with insight and courage. Even in Jambudīpa he would, I believe, be capable of uniting 50 the whole realm under one umbrella, how much more so in the Island of Laṅkā!" When the other heard that, he made 51 the resolve to support the Prince and sent people to the Prince. When the illustrious hero heard their message, he 52 for fear that they might hold him back, left the house without

¹ The Loka described in 57. 1 as *camūnātha*. W. inserts here the words: "who ruled Rohaṇa". That is not in the text, but it is correct as far as Loka resided in Kājaragāma. It is also not said that Buddha-rāja was a "prince".

² P. *saṃvaccharikanāyako*, lit. a chief of the s. Cf. skr. *sāṃvatsarika* BR., s. v. nr. 2.

53 his parents' knowledge, with nothing but his bow and seeing
 all kinds of favourable signs, he prudently betook himself in
 54 haste to the village of Sarivaggapitṭhi. While sojourning there,
 the hero sent away his servants and captured the village
 55 of Bodhivaḷa then in possession of the opposite party¹. There-
 upon the arrogant general (Loka) sent his army thither; it sur-
 56 rounded the village and opened fight². The prince who full
 of impetuous courage, fought with his soldiers against them,
 scattered them in all directions, as a stormy wind (scatters)
 57 cotton. He then betook himself, knowing the opportunity, to
 the Cunnasālā district and during his sojourn there brought
 58 the whole region of Malaya into his power. Even now the
 general³ sent off his army over and over again, but as he
 59 could not gain the upper hand, he became furious. A son of
 the henchman Kittī⁴ dwelling in Makkhakudrūsa, a powerful
 60 man known by the name of Devamalla, now came hither, ac-
 companied by kinsmen and friends, at the head of many people
 dwelling in Rohaṇa, and with reverence sought out the Prince
 61 (Kittī). He able and farfamed, at the age of fifteen girt on
 62 his sword and demanded the dignity of ādipāda. Thereupon
 he betook himself with a mighty force to Hiraññamalaya and
 63 built there on the Remuṇa rock a stronghold. Thither too the
 general⁵ sent his army, but as he did not stay victorious in
 64 battle, he gave up the idea of renewing the war. The ruler
 Loka⁶, the army's commander, now forsook this his world,

¹ Namely of the general Loka.

² The dat. *saṃgāmāya* with *saṃārābhi* (instead of the acc.) is irregular.

³ *P. seninda* is like *senanī* a synonym of *senāpati*. The title of "King" is never accorded to Loka.

⁴ See above 55. 26, 31.

⁵ *P. camūpati* stands in the text and v. 64 *camūnātha*, both synonyms for *senāpati* (Loka).

⁶ In their list of Errata S. and B. correct *lokanātho* into *lokanāmo*. That is certainly wrong. Without doubt a pun is intended with *camūnātha*, and the form *Lokanātha* corresponds to the *Lokesvara* of the Sinhalese sources. Another pun is that with *loka*. The word is contained in the name, in *lokaṃ sakaṃ* "his world" or "his people" and in *paraloka*.

and in the sixth year of his reign his goal was the other world.

Now a Chief of the Kesadhātus¹, Kassapa by name, got 65 the upper hand of the people and carried on the government in Rohaṇa. At the tidings of this the Coḷa general, armed 66 for war, set out from Pulatthinagara and marched against Kājaragāma. But the Kesadhātu scattered the forces of the 67 Damiḷas in a battle, set up guards at the frontier of Rakkha-pāsāṇa², and then the hero proud of his victory, returned 68 with his great army and entered Kājaragāma. When the vi- 69 gorous³ Ādipāda (Kitti) heard all this, he quickly equipped an army, to overwhelm the Kesadhātu. When the latter had 70 tidings of this he advanced full of pride with befitting troops from Kājaragāma to Sippatthalaka⁴. But when the invincible 71 Prince (Kitti) at the head of many of the inhabitants of Pañcayojana⁵ and other districts drew near, he betook him- 72 self, perceiving that many of the dwellers in his own district were averse from war, (and) believing that a battle here would be difficult, to Khadiraṅgaṇi⁶. With a great army 73 the royal youth (Kitti) aged sixteen years, entered at once free from all fear, into Kājaragāma. Having ruled Rohaṇa 74 six months, the Chief of the Kesadhātus full of bitterness,

¹ Here we meet for the first time with the remarkable expression so frequently used later of *kesadhātu*. W. translates *kesadhātunāyaka* by "the Chief of the Hair Relic". But *nāyaka* is used here in the same way as in *saṃvachcharikanāyaka*, v. 48, for in the sequel *kesadhātu* is used alone. Cf. on this title the "Introduction" III.

² W. suggests doubtfully Rakvāṇa.

³ P. *sutthiradhātuko*. The word *dhātu* at the end of a bahuvrīhi compound often means "kind, nature, peculiarity, character" and is much, almost exclusively, used periphrastically. Thus in *samadhātuka* "of similar kind". JaCo. II. 31²²; *kūṭṭhadhātuka* "defiled" JaCo. I. 438²⁰; *badhiradhātuka* "hard of hearing" JaCo. II. 63¹³.

⁴ See also 58. 7.

⁵ Now Pasdun-Korale, east of Kalutara, in the province Sabaragamuwa. The P. word *raṭṭha* is frequently used quite in the sense of the Sinh. *kōralē*.

⁶ See also 58. 36.

75 marched thither to battle. But the army of the royal youth (Kitti) engaged him in hard battle and the mighty one captured the head of the Chief of the Kesadhātus.

76 Having reached the age of seventeen years, the Prince the glory of whose great fame had spread on every side, who was extraordinarily skilled in the use of the many expedients such as kindness and the like had freed the whole of Rohaṇa from the briers of the foe.

Here ends the fifty-seventh chapter, called "The Subjugation of the Enemies of Rohaṇa", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE ADVANCE TO ANURĀDHAPURA

The name Vijayabāhu¹ of the Prince wise in statecraft, 1 who now found himself in the position of yuvarāja, was known everywhere. Gifted with abundant knowledge, he had the 2 drums beaten for his entering on the government and placing numbers of his followers in befitting positions and applying 3 the four methods² of warriors for the destruction of the Coḷas who were ravaging Rājaraṭṭha, he took up his abode there (in Rohaṇa). When the Coḷa King heard of that, he sent off 4 his Senāpati who was then in Pulatthinagara, with army and train. As Vijayabāhu recognised that the (Coḷa) general who 5

¹ Kittī adopts this name when he wins his claim to the throne. In the rock inscription of Ambagamuva (BELL, ASC. Ann. Rep. 1910-11 = III. 1915, p. 121, no. 196; WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 202 ff.) the king calls himself Sirisangbo Vijayabāhu. He names as his parents Abhā Salamevan and Dev Gon, names which seem to have been taken over mechanically from the Rāja-māligāva inscription of Polonnaruva on the introduction to which that of the Ambagamuva inscription rests (See note to 54. 7). Important for the history of the reign of Vijayabāhu I. is the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva dealt with by C. RĀSANĀYAGAM Mudaliyar in JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, no. 77, 1924, p. 266 ff., and recently also by WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 242 ff.

² According to Abhp. 348 the *caturo upāyā* the four means of success are *bheda* "division (of the enemy)", *daṇḍa* "open war, offensive", *sāma* "friendly negotiations, treaty" and *dānāni* "gifts, bribes". The doctrine of the four *upāya* is also well known in Sanskrit literature. It is found in the Mahābhārata, in the Amarakośa, in Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi, in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, in Manu, 7. 109 (BR. s. v. *daṇḍa* 11). Finally they are enumerated in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra 2. 10, 28: *upāyāḥ sāmopapradānabhedadaṇḍāḥ* as a method of royal policy. See J. J. MEYER, Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, p. 105.

had advanced close to Kājaragāma, could scarcely be defeated, 6 he withdrew into the mountain jungle. The (Coḷa) general plundered Kājaragāma in haste, but as he could not stay 7 there, he betook himself again to his province. Thereupon the Mahādipāda¹ came hastily from Malaya and besieged 8 Sippatthalaka² with strong forces. The King (Vijayabāhu) sent to the King in the Rāmañña³ country numbers of people and 9 much costly treasure⁴. Then arrived in the harbour many ships laden with various stuffs, camphor, sandelwood and other 10 goods. By all kinds of valuable gifts he inclined the soldiers to him and with large forces at his command, he took up his abode in Tambalagāma⁵.

11 All the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha grew hostile to one 12 another and paid no further tribute. The adversaries of the Coḷa King full of arrogance, left his commands unheeded, ill-treated the appointed officials and did what they pleased. 13 When the Coḷa Monarch heard this, he was filled with rage 14 and he sent off one of his henchmen with a great army. The latter landed in Mahātitttha, slew many people here and there 15 and subdued the inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha. Later on he came then, cruel in his commands, to Rohaṇa and fell upon it with

¹ The title mahādipāda belongs to Vijayabāhu in his position of yuvarāja.

² See 57. 70.

³ Name for Burma. Note that Vijayabāhu from now onwards is called *rājā*.

⁴ P. *sāraṃ dhanajātam*. The word *sāra* is here (as also in v. 21) used as an adjective (see skr. *sāra*, BR. s. v., 4); *dhanajāta* which is also used in v. 10, is nearly always a mere paraphrase for *dhana*.

⁵ A Tambalagama lies (Census of Ceylon 1921, II., p. 152) in the Hinidum-Pattuva of the Galle District not far from Batuvangala on the upper Gin-ganga. If this is our Tambalagāma that would mean that the centre of gravity of Vijayabāhu's influence was in the west of Rohaṇa, on the borders of Dakkhinadesa. The fact that the troops which Kittī led against the Kesadhātu Kassapa came according to 57. 71 chiefly from the Pañcayojana-raṭṭha supports this. It is supported too by the further development of events. The Tambala mentioned 45. 78 cannot be identified with the Tambalagāma of our passage.

his army like the ocean which has burst its bounds¹. Two 16
mighty men, Ravideva and Cala by name, became opponents
of the King (Vijayabāhu) and went over both of them, to the
Damiḷa commander. When the general saw them accompanied 17
by a great troop of adherents, he believed Rohaṇa would
shortly be in his power.

In the twelfth year (of his reign) the King (Vijayabāhu) 18
put up an entrenchment for the conquest of the Coḷas, on the
Paluṭṭha mountain² and took up his abode there. The Coḷa 19
army surrounded the rocks on all sides and a terrible fight
between the two armies took place. The King's soldiers 20
annihilated the Damiḷa army, pursued the fleeing general of
the Coḷa Sovereign and got possession of his head at the vil- 21
lage of Tambaviṭṭhi³. Taking with them all the captured
implements of war, together with draught animals and chariots 22
and all valuable treasures, they showed it (the head) to the

¹ I feel bound to keep to the text *ajjhottharuttha senāya samblinna-
velo va sāgaro* as adopted by me in my edition. The fact of the second
pāda having a syllable too much is of no account. See Cūlav. ed., Introd.
p. xii. If one compares the MSS. it is almost certain in the first place,
that *ajjhottharuttha* and *samblinna* are right, since they have been pre-
served in all groups of the MSS. The only question is as to what came
between the two words. The Col. Ed. with *ajjhotthari saseno sa bhunna*^o
follows closely the MS. S 3. But what is remarkable is that this MS.
is here quite isolated and differs also from S 7. This looks as if we
had to do with an arbitrary alteration on the part of the copyist. And
how is *tato* or *nato* in all the other MSS. to be explained? I think
thus: In the archetype a *tato* was added by mistake to *senāya*, intended
originally for *gantvāna* in pāda a. In group S 1, 2, 4 the word is in-
serted besides *senāya*, in S 6, 7 it has ousted this entirely.

² P. *Paluṭṭhapabbata*, identical with the Paluṭṭhagiri mentioned
55. 28. As this occurs here in association with Māragallaka (see Note
to 48. 129), the mention of the Paluṭṭha mountain would take us to the
west of Rohaṇa, to the borders of Dakkhinadesa. Mr. Hocart however
is inclined to identify it with Palatupana, 8 miles East of Tissama-
hārāma. ASC. 1928, p. 17.

³ If this is the Tambavita in the Paranakuru Korale of the Kegalla-
District, the pursuit must have extended far to the north, into Dakkhina-
desa. That is also not unlikely, for up to his occupation of Pulatthina-
gara Vijayabāhu evidently meets with no further resistance.

King and spake to him (thus): "It is time to march to Pu-
 23 latthinagara." When the Monarch heard these words of his
 followers he betook himself now with large forces to Pulatthi-
 24 nagara. When the Coḷa Sovereign heard of all these events
 he was overcome with fury, and as he desired to capture the
 25 Monarch (Vijayabāhu), the hero went in all haste himself to
 the harbour on the sea-coast and sent a still larger army to
 26 the Island of Laṅkā. When the Ruler (Vijayabāhu) heard
 that he sent off his general with a great force to fight with
 27 the Coḷa army. The general marched to the neighbourhood
 of Anurādhapura and gave the Daṁḷa host a fiery battle.
 28 There fell in this fight many warriors of the Monarch and
 still more of the inhabitants of his kingdom came into the
 29 power of the Daṁḷas. Thereupon the Monarch abandoned
 Pulatthinagara and betook himself in haste to the district
 30 called Villikābā. Having removed the two officials who were
 placed over this district, he took up his abode there, gathering
 31 his soldiers. On the tidings that the Coḷa general was pur-
 suing him, he betook himself, aware of the right time¹, to
 32 the rocky hill of Vātagiri². At the foot of this mountain he
 built a stronghold and fighting, kept the Daṁḷas three months
 at bay.

33 The younger brother of the Chief of the Kesadhātus³ who
 had been slain earlier in battle, had meanwhile gathered to-
 34 gether a large troop of adherents and nursing wrath in his
 heart at the slaying of his brother, he raised the whole di-
 35 strict of Guttasālā⁴ in rebellion. Thereupon the Sovereign of

¹ That is, he knew well that the time for open resistance to the Coḷas had not yet come.

² From 60. 39 it is clear that Vātagiri was situated in the province of Dakkhiṇadesa. Thus Vijayabāhu retires not as one might expect, eastwards or south-eastwards over the Mahaveliganga but to the south-west. Evidently he seeks to regain the base in the borders of Rohaṇa and Dakkhiṇadesa from which he started. Vātagiri is no doubt the mountain Vakirigala in the Galboda Korale of the Kegalla District. BELL, Rep. on the Kegalla District = ASC, xix, 1892, p. 45.

³ See above 57. 65 ff.

⁴ See note to 51. 109.

Laṅkā marched thither in haste with a large force and set up an armed camp at the place called Maccutthala. Then when he had driven his foe in fight out of the stronghold Khadirāṇ-gaṇi¹, he chased him, still fighting, from Kubūlagalla. He left his ample possessions together with wife and child as well as his troops in the lurch and fled in haste to the province occupied by the Coḷas. Thereupon the Lord of men (Vijaya-bāhu) took to himself the whole of his possessions and betook himself to Tambalagāma² where he erected a new stronghold. In the course of time he went to the town called Mahānā-gahula³ and sojourned there arming his troops to fight with the Coḷas. Thereupon the King summoned two of his henchmen and sent them with large forces to Dakkhinadesa⁴ to subdue the inhabitants there. Another pair of able⁵ officials the Sovereign sent to the coast highroad⁶ to destroy the arrog-

¹ See above 57. 72.

² After Vijayabāhu had protected his rear by subduing the rebellion in Guttasālā, he returns at first to the position which is to serve him as basis for his future operations (see note to 58. 10) and strengthens it by fortifications. He next betakes himself to the place which may now be looked upon as the capital of Rohaṇa, to make further preparations for the Coḷa war.

³ According to native tradition we must look for *Mahānāgahula* on the lower Valave-ganga, N. W. of Ambalantota where to-day there are extensive rice-fields similar to those of Tissamahārāma (H. W. CODRINGTON, Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth Century II, from a proof slip which I owe to the courtesy of the author). In agreement with this is the statement in v. 10 of the *Mānāvulu-sandesa* that the river on which the town stood was the *Vanavāhinī*. Mr. JAYARATANA of the Colombo Museum drew my attention to this passage. The Commentary explains the name of the river by *vala-hoya*, which is the Valave-ganga.

⁴ H. W. CODRINGTON (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the Twelfth Century, JRAS. C. B. Nr. 75, 1922, p. 64) rightly stresses the fact that *dakkhinaṃ passaṃ* does not mean "southward" as translated by W. but is the same as *dakkhinaṃ desaṃ*.

⁵ P. *kakkhala* "hard" in a good sense, as much as firm, enduring, energetic.

⁶ Vijayabāhu's strategy is clear. He attacks the position of the Coḷas from two sides: from Dakkhinadesa in the direction of Anurādhapura and eastwards from the mountains in the direction of Polonnaruva. The

42 ance of the Coḷas. The officials sent with large forces to
 Dakkhiṇadesa, took the stronghold at the village of Muhunnaru,
 43 further Badalatthala, the stronghold at Vāpinagara, Buddha-
 44 gāma, Tilagulla, Mahāgalla and Maṇḍagalla¹. When later

"coast highroad" I would identify with the old road which avoiding the hill country, led from Mahāgāma to Dastoṭa or Mahagantota on the Mahaveliganga not far from Polonnaruva. I am inclined to look upon the embankment called Kalugalbāmma which is crossed between Ekiriyaṅkumbura and Mahacya by the Passara-Batticaloa road as the remains of this road. The road does not run along the sea, it is true, but it runs from coast to coast, from Mahāgāma to Mahātitttha. It is doubtful whether the southern part of this road led over Buttala. The Ratamahatmaya Bibile informed me that one can recognize the southern continuation of the Kalugalbāmma further east at Kadiyaṅgoda and that the road runs from here beside an old beaten elephant track direct to Mahāgāma. At any rate the northern continuation of the Kalugalbāmma does not lead to Mahiyaṅga, but leaving this to the left, it seems to lead by Dolagalvela direct to the Mahaveliganga. Thus this highroad must be distinguished from that which runs from Mahāgāma by way of Kataragama, Buttala, Medagama, Bibile to Mahiyaṅga and from there along the Mahaveliganga towards the north. I myself found remains of this road in Bibile, other remains might perhaps come to light at Alut-nuvara (Mahiyaṅga) behind the hospital. Vijayabāhu apparently took advantage of a civil war raging at that time in the Coḷa country. It ended with the accession to the throne of Kulōttunga Coḷa I. in A. D. 1069—70. H. W. CODRINGTON, H. C., p. 56.

¹ The topographical identification of the greater part of these localities we owe H. W. CODRINGTON in the treatise cited above (note to 58. 39). Of the names occurring here the following are mentioned elsewhere 1) Badalatthala, 2) Buddhagāma, 3) Tilagulla and 4) Mahāgalla. Muhunnaru and Vāpinagara are doubtful. Badalatthala has been identified by CODRINGTON (following PARKER) with Batalagoda in the Ihalavisideke Korale West of the Kurunegala District. STOREY on the strength of the mention in an inscription of the Budgam-vehera (ASC. 1908 = S. P. VI. 1913, p. 14-15) considers Buddhagāma to be Menikdena (see ASC. 1908 = VI. 1913, p. 13 ff.) in the Vagapanaha Uda-siya Pattu of the District Matale North, where the two roads leading from Kurunegala and from Nalanda to Dambul approach one another, and CODRINGTON supports this assumption. As to Tilagulla, Mr. CODRINGTON refers me by letter to Talagalle Ela in the Katuvanna Korale of the Kurunegala District. According to 68. 44 it is at least certain that it was situated in Dakkhiṇadesa. For Mahāgalla see note to 44. 3.

they had also taken Anurādhapura, they brought the whole kingdom into their power and pushed forward to Mahātittha. The two generals sent out to the coast highroad, plundered 45 Chagāma¹ and other armed camps here and there, and when 46 later they had got near to Pulatthinagara, they sent messengers to the King that he should speedily come hither. When the Ruler heard of the extraordinary deeds of heroism 47 accomplished by the generals whom he had sent in two directions, he aware of the time being propitious, equipped 48 his whole army and experienced in methods of war, he left the town (Mahānāgahula) to exterminate the Coḷas. During 49 the march the Sovereign set up a camp on the (Mahāvāluka)-gāṅgā not far from the Mahiyaṅgaṇa-thūpa² and took up his abode there for a time. Afterwards the great hero aware of 50 the opportunity, betook himself to the neighbourhood of Pulatthinagara and set up here an extremely strong fortification. But all the warlike, valiant Coḷas who were to be 51 found here and there, gathered together in Pulatthinagara to make war. The Coḷas came forth from the town and engaged 52 outside in a great battle, but they were beaten and returned to the town. Then having secured all the gates of the town, 53 they carried on with great strenuousness a terrifying fight from bastions and towers. For a month and a half the great 54 army of the Monarch kept the town surrounded but could not subdue it. The great heroes, the great fighters, the great 55 warriors of the Great King, the mighty ones with great pride, Ravideva, Cala³ and the others scaled the walls, broke furi- 56

Finally Maṇḍagalla is according to Mr. C. = Mahamadagalla in Hiriyala Hatpattu N. E. of Kurunegala. A Madagala is also marked on sheet F. 9 of the map (scale one mile to the inch) 5 miles S. S. W. of Anurādhapura as name of a mountain. All the evidence points, at any rate, to the progress of the operations against Anurādhapura from South to North through Dakkhinadesa.

¹ Chagāma or Chaggāma, it seems to me, has not been identified with certainty. That it was situated in eastern Rohaṇa is clear from 75. 3.

² See note to 51. 74.

³ It was stated in v. 16 that these two generals had gone over to

ously into the town and at once exterminated all the Damiḷas
 57 root and branch¹. After King Vijayabāhu had thus achieved
 the victory, he the discerning one, had the drums of his
 58 dominion beaten² in the town. But when the Ruler of the
 Coḷas heard of this destruction of his army, he thought: the
 Siḥalas are (too) strong, and sent out no further army.

59 When the hero the discerning one, who had utterly destroyed
 the best of the proud Coḷas, had placed the whole of
 Rājaraṭṭha on a sure foundation³, he the best of kings, greatly
 rejoicing, advanced in the fifteenth year (of his reign) to the
 greatly longed for, the best (town of) Anurādhapura⁴.

Here ends the fifty-eighth chapter, called "The Advance
 to Anurādhapura", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene
 joy and emotion of the pious.

the Coḷas. It would seem that later they again acknowledged the sovereignty of Vijayabāhu. Or we have to do with a mistake of the compiler.

¹ P. *mūlaghaccaṃ aghātayum*. I think we have to take *mūlaghaccaṃ* as adverb. Cf. Dh. 250 m. *samūhatam* "radically removed", as also m. *kar* D. III. 67¹² ff., 68¹. Of the overthrow of the Damiḷas by Vijayabāhu the Ambagamuva inscription (see note to 58. 1) says: "through his own courage he drove away the whole darkness of the Damiḷa forces and brought the whole of the Island of Laṅkā under his umbrella" (line 23).

² I. e. he made known by beat of drum that he had ascended the throne.

³ P. *susādhū* (adv.) *ṭhapitākḥilarājaratṭho*. We have here no doubt in *Rājaraṭṭha* the name of the province freed from the Damiḷas. See note to 55. 22.

⁴ The fact that the King entered Anurādhapura is mentioned in the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva line 7—8; cf. note to 58. 1.

CHAPTER LIX

THE BESTOWAL OF FAVOURS

With the protection of Laṅkā in the vicinity of the sea 1 the King charged powerful followers, acknowledged warriors, in regular turn¹. Since for the festival of the royal conse- 2 cration² a pāsāda and many other things had to be prepared, he (likewise) charged one of his followers with this and after 3 he had there³ done reverence to the various places deserving of honour, he returned, after a sojourn of three months, to Pulatthinagara.

A troop leader known by the name of Ādimalaya rebelled 4 quite openly against the Monarch and came, the deluded one, hither with all his troops to fight, as far as the village known 5 by the name of Andu, in the vicinity of the town. The Ruler 6 of Laṅkā marched thither, destroyed the haughty one⁴ and returned to Pulatthinagara after bringing his troops into his power.

From the time that he was yuvarāja, the wise Prince, 7 that best of men, had seventeen years chronicled in writing⁵.

¹ I read *paṭipātīm* and take the accus. in an adverbial sense. His followers had to take over alternately the protection of the coast. The Col. Ed. has *paṭipattim* and W. accordingly translates: "having (before) instructed them in their duties".

² I should prefer now to put *abhisekamaṅgalattham* in the oratio recta.

³ Namely in Anurādhapura.

⁴ Pun on *uddharitvā*, *uddhatam*. For the meaning of "annihilate" cf. skr. *har* + *ud*, BR., 8.

⁵ The passage is important, since it shows that annals were kept at court of the events during each year of the reign. The narrative of Vijayabāhu's reign bears in particular a strongly annalistic character.

8 Having betaken himself hereupon to Anurādhapura and well
 versed in custom, had enjoyed the high festival of the coro-
 9 nation after the manner of tradition, keeping not to evil but
 keeping firmly to pious action, he, secure¹ (in the royal
 10 dignity), had the eighteenth year chronicled. Thereupon he
 betook himself to splendid Pulatthinagara and dwelt there,
 11 known by the name of Sirisaṃghabodhi. He invested his next
 youngest brother Vīrabāhu with the dignity of uparāja and
 distinguished him in the customary way, by making over to
 12 him the province of Dakkhiṇadesa. On his youngest brother
 Jayabāhu the Prince² conferred the dignity of an ādipāda and
 13 bestowed on him the province of Rohaṇa. But on all his
 ministers he bestowed office according to merit and directed
 them to collect the dues in the kingdom in fitting manner.
 14 The administration of justice which had long lain low, the
 Sovereign a fount of pity, carried out himself, keeping to
 the law, with justice.

15 While now the Ruler of men having rooted out the heaped
 up briars of numerous foes, ruled his realm of Laṅkā ever in
 16 most excellent fashion, three brothers, the Head of the umbrella
 bearers, the President of the Court of Justice and the Chief
 17 of the merchants³ became hostile to the King and betook
 themselves, in flight, to Jambudīpa. In the nineteenth year
 18 they landed again in Laṅkā. Together they soon roused re-
 volt in the province of Rohaṇa, the district of Malaya and
 19 the whole of Dakkhiṇadesa. The prudent (Prince) marched to
 Rohaṇa and the Malaya district, slew here and there many
 20 enemies and when he had thoroughly pacified the country⁴,

Cf. 57. 43, 61, 73, 76; 58. 18, 59; 59. 9, 17; 60. 36, 45, as also the chrono-
 logical summary of WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 207-8. It is noteworthy
 too that the King's coronation is celebrated in the anciently sacred
 town of Anurādhapura although Pulatthinagara is the capital.

¹ Pun on *aṭṭhito*, *suṭṭhito*, *susamṭhito*.

² P. *bāhuja*, the same as *khattiya*, because the caste of the Khattiya
 issued from the arms of God Brahman.

³ P. *chattagāhakanātha*, *dharmagehakanāyaka*, *seṭṭhinātha*.

⁴ P. *taṃ*, namely *Rohaṇaṃ tathā Malayamaṇḍalam*.

and appointed officials there, he, the able one, advanced himself with great forces to Dakkhinadesa. The hero there sent 21 on a general of the lineage of the brother of Samanī¹, captured his foes in bitter fight, had them impaled and after 22 freeing Laṅkā from the briers (of the rebels) he returned to Pulatthinagara which was now devoid of all fear².

At that time the royal consort of Jagatīpāla³ who dwelt 23 in the Coḷa Kingdom, had escaped with her youthful daughter Līlāvati by name, from the power of the Coḷas, had embarked 24 in haste, landed in the Island of Laṅkā and sought out the Sovereign of Laṅkā. When the King heard the story of her 25 lineage and saw from that that she was of irreproachable descent, he had Līlāvati consecrated as his mahesī. The Ma- 26 hesī conceived by the King a daughter and the Ruler gave her the name of Yasodharā. Together with the province of 27 Merukandara the King gave his daughter to Vīravamma. She conceived two daughters. The elder received the same name 28 as her grandmother⁴, Sugalā by name was the younger of the two. The King wishful for the continuance of his line, fetch- 29 ed from the Kālinga country the charming young princess of the royal family of Kalinga, Tilokasundarī by name, and 30 had her consecrated as his mahesī⁵. She conceived five 31 daughters: Subhaddā, Sumittā, Lokanāthā, Ratanāvalī and Rūpavati and a son Vikkamabāhu, furnished with the marks 32

¹ I believe that by *Samanī* the foster mother of the Buddha, Mahā-pajāpati, is meant. As she was according to the Cullavagga X. 1 (= Vin. II. 253 ff.), the first woman to receive the *upasampadā* she can be described as "the Nun" pure and simple. The general (*saciva*) belonged thus to the family of Gotama.

² Or with the Col. Ed. *nirātanaṃ* "free of harm". The MSS. vary. W. refers the word as predicative object, like *vigatakaṇṭakaṃ* to *Laṅkaṃ*. From the position of the words it seems to me more correct to combine *nirātanaṃ* with the following *Pulatthinagaraṃ*.

³ See 56. 15.

⁴ Like her *mātāmāhī*, the mother of her mother. She was called therefore, Līlāvati.

⁵ Vijayabāhu had, therefore, two mahesīs, Līlāvati (v. 25) and Tilokasundarī.

of future power. Now that he had obtained increase of offspring, his wives won the King's heart¹. Of the other women of the court, except the wives of equal birth², none conceived by the Monarch a fruit of the womb.

Now one day as the King surrounded by the throng of his courtiers, gazed on each of his daughters standing there and, versed in signs, perceived on none of his other daughters except on Ratanāvalī the sign indicative of the birth of a son (himself) furnished with the signs of power; seized by loving emotion, he called Ratanāvalī to him, kissed her on the head, and with tender joy spake to her thus: "This thy body shall be the place for the birth of a son³ who will surpass all former and future monarchs in glorious qualities, generosity, wisdom and heroism, who will be able to keep Laṅkā ever in safety⁴ and united under one umbrella, who will be in perfect wise a patron of the Order, and who will display an abundant and fine activity". Though repeatedly entreated by the Coḷa Monarch, the King proud of his family, would not give him his younger sister. On the contrary, he fetched the Paṇḍu King who came of an unblemished line⁵, and wedded to him his royal sister Mittā by name who had been born after him. She bore three sons, Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha by name, and him who was called Sirivallabha. (His daughter) Subhaddā the Ruler gave with ample dowry to Vīrabāhu and Sumittā to Jayabāhu⁶. To Mānābharaṇa he gave his daughter Ratanā-

¹ I believe that *harantā* which all MSS. have, should be separated into *haran tā*. By *tā* are meant the two queens Līlāvatī and Tilokasundarī who have borne children to the King. There is no need to change the text.

² That is of course the two Mahesīs. The word *ithhāgāra*, lit. "women's house" = Harem women, is used for the inmates, like the German "Frauenzimmer".

³ A prophecy concerning Parakkamabāhu the Great, the future son of Ratanāvalī.

⁴ The Col. Ed. has here *nirāsaṅkaṃ* contrary to all the MSS. while in v. 22 it has *nirātāṅkaṃ*.

⁵ See below note to 63. 15.

⁶ Vīrabāhu and Jayabāhu were younger brothers of Vijayabāhu.

valī, the one with the name Lokanāthā to Kittisirimegha (to wife). As the one called Rūpavatī had died, he gave to Siri- 45
 vallabha the princess called Sugalā. When he beheld the 46
 princes Madhukapṇava, Bhīmarāja and Balakkāra, kinsmen of
 the Mahesī (Tilokasundarī), who had come from Sīhapura¹,
 the Monarch found pleasure in them and granted each of them 47
 befitting maintenance. All of them having enjoyed such honour 48
 and distinction, dwelt ever loyal to the Ruler, where they
 pleased. The younger sister of these princes, Sundarī by name², 49
 he, concerned for the continuance of his house, gave to
 Vikkamabāhu (to wife). Further he also gave Vikkamabāhu 50
 the excellent Līlāvatī together with (befitting) income, taking
 pleasure in the welfare of his kindred.

Thus caring for those belonging to him, full of riches, 51
 above all bent on kindness, he did what served the good of
 his kindred and what at the same time was politically wise.

Here ends the fifty-ninth chapter, called "The Bestowal
 of Favours", in the Mahāvamśa, compiled for the serene joy
 and emotion of the pious.

¹ Sīhapura is the town which according to the legend (cf. Mhvs 6.35) was founded in Lāḷa by Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu. Lāḷa borders in the north on the Kalinga kingdom, the home of Tilokasundarī, as must be inferred from Mhvs. 6. 1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutā Nāgpur to the west of Bengal, is still called Singbbhūm.

² All the MSS. have the form *Sunārī* with the single exception of S 7, which has *Sundarī*. The latter is confirmed by an inscription. In the rock inscription of Dimbulagala (EZ. II. 184 ff., 194 ff.) the Queen calls herself Sundaramahadevī, consort of the King Vikumbā (i. e. Vikkamabāhu) and mother of Gaja-bāhu-deva. In the course of the inscription she refers to a meritorious work which she had performed in the reign of her husband's predecessor Jayabāhu.

CHAPTER LX

CARE FOR THE LAITY AND FOR THE ORDER.

1 The Ruler chose people of good family whom he had all
 around him¹ and, as was customary, charged them with his
 2 protection². In Pulatthinagara he had a high and strong
 wall built, provided with many bastions, well faced with stucco,
 3 defended round about with a long, broad and deep trench and
 equipped with high parapets³ difficult for the foe to reduce.
 4 As the number of the bhikkhus was not sufficient to make the
 chapter full for the (holding of the) ceremony of admission into
 5 the Order and other acts, the Ruler of men who had at heart the
 continuance of the Order, sent to his friend, the Prince Anuruddha⁴
 6 in the Rāmañña country messengers with gifts and had fetched
 thence bhikkhus who had thoroughly studied the three

¹ P. *sabbe samādiya*, overlooked in W.'s translation.

² They were his permanent bodyguard. P. *yathācāraṃ* "as was customary" like the skr. *yathācāram*, with the same meaning. BR., s v.

³ P. *patthaṇḍila*. The word occurs again M. II. 155 as the designation of a part of a hermitage and in the combination *-ḍile caṅkamaṇo*. The skr. *sthaṇḍila* = *pa-tthaṇḍila* means "a level floor, bare floor". What *patthaṇḍila* is in a fortification cannot be determined. Unfortunately the descriptions which Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra 2. 3, 21, gives of the construction of a fortress, are so obscure and difficult that they do not help us further.

⁴ King Anuruddha of Burma, the national hero of the Burmese, was crowned in the year 1010 (PHAYRE, Hist. of Burma, p. 22). There are chronological difficulties about Anuruddha's being the contemporary of Vijayabāhu I. The assumption is probably an arbitrary one on the part of the author of our part of the Mahāvamsa or of his source. That Vijayabāhu fetched bhikkhus from Burma is confirmed by the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva mentioned above (note to 58, 1). The fact is also related in Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Nik.s.

Piṭakas, who were a fount of moral discipline and other virtues, (and) acknowledged as theas. After distinguishing them 7 by costly gifts, the King had the ceremonies of world-renunciation and of admission into the Order repeatedly performed by them and the three Piṭakas together with the com- 8 mentary frequently recited and saw to it that the Order of the Victor which had declined in Laṅkā again shone brightly. Within Pulatthinagara he had many charming vihāras built 9 at different places¹, made bhikkhus who belonged to the 10 three fraternities², take up their abode there and gladdened them by abundant (gifts of the) four necessities. After building a vihāra beautiful by reason of its threshold pillar³, 11 provided with wall and trench, beautified by a splendid five-storeyed pāsāda, well equipped with charming rows of dwell- 12 ings round about, filled with people⁴, provided with a roomy, superb, sumptuous gateway⁵, he, holding precious above all 13 things the three (sacred) objects, made it over to the bhikkhus dwelling in the three fraternities. For their support with 14 food he granted to the community the whole district of Āḷisāra⁶ together with the canal diggers⁷ dwelling there. To 15 several hundred bhikkhus he assigned dwellings there, supplying them regularly with the four necessities in ample

¹ P. *padesasamūhā tahiṃ tahiṃ*, equivalent to *tasmim tasmim padese*.

² See below note to 60. 56.

³ It is doubtful whether *elakattambha* is to be understood as a dvandva or as a tatpuruṣa compound. At any rate what is meant is the whole frame of the entrance gate on which great care was expended in the buildings of Ceylon.

⁴ What is meant probably are the monastery servants who were present in great numbers.

⁵ P. *gopura* here probably the main gateway of the whole establishment

⁶ Now Elahera in the Matale District, N. E. of Nalanda on the Ambanganga. BELL, ASC. 1910-11 = X. 1914, p. 42; ASC. 1911-12 = III. 1915, p. 66.

⁷ P. *netika* "one who makes conduits for irrigating rice-fields" (CHILDERS). Cf. *udakaṃ hi nayanti nettikā* Dh. 80, 145; Therag. 19; M. II. 105⁵. These people had to keep in order the rice fields granted to the monastery. W.'s translation "the chiefs of the people who dwelt there" is wrong.

16 measure. After building for the Tooth Relic a beautiful and
 17 costly temple¹ he instituted permanently for the Tooth Relic a
 18 great festival. Holding himself aloof from intercourse with a
 19 large circle², he translated the Dhammasaṅgani every morning
 20 in the beautiful preaching-hall³. While instituting many offerings
 of sweet-smelling savours, flowers and the like with dance
 and so forth, he was wont, joined with him in faith, to wor-
 21 ship the Enlightened One with bowed head. The many scho-
 lars⁴ who came from Jambudīpa and who were worthy of a
 gift, the mighty Monarch who was a hero in giving, gladdened
 22 with gifts of money. For the preachers of the true doctrine
 he instituted offerings of divers kinds, and rejoicing ever at
 the merits of the doctrine, made them teach the true doc-
 23 trine. Thrice he dispensed alms to the poor of a weight
 equal to that of his body⁵ and on the Uposatha day he kept
 24 the Uposatha vow in blameless fashion. Every year the So-
 vereign instituted a Daṇḍissara offering⁶; he had the Tipiṭaka
 25 copied and presented it to the bhikkhu community. By the
 sending of costly pearls, precious stones and other jewels,
 he revered, sacrificing many times over, the sacred Bodhi
 Tree in Jambudīpa.

24 Envoys sent by the Kaṇṇāta Monarch⁷ and by the Coḷa
 25 King came hither with rich presents. They sought out the
 Monarch. He was greatly pleased thereat and after rendering
 26 both embassies what was their due, he sent at first⁸ with the

¹ Confirmed by the Tamil inscription cited above 58. 1.

² P. *gaṇasaṅgaṇikā*, the same meaning as DhCo. 4. 143¹³, here a pun on *dhammasaṅgaṇi*.

³ P. *dhammamandira*, synonym for *dhammasālā*.

⁴ P. *sūri*, plur. *sūrayo*. At the end of a compound, Mhvs. 85 44 with the meaning "skilful in" etc. I. Sg. *sūrinā* Mhvs. 26. 28.

⁵ Confirmed again by the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruwa l. 11.

⁶ The origin of the name is unknown. All we know from parallel passages (52. 3; 53. 30) is that it was alms dispensed to wandering beggars and artists.

⁷ See note to 55. 12.

⁸ P. *tesu* (i. e. of the two embassies) *ādo* (at first). The envoys of the Coḷa king were thus at first retained.

Kaṇṇāta messengers his own envoys to Kaṇṇāta with choice gifts. But the Coḷas maimed the noses and ears of the Siḥala messengers horribly when they entered their country¹. Thus disfigured they returned hither and told the King everything that had been done to them by the Coḷa King. In flaming fury Vijayabāhu in the midst of all his courtiers had the Damiḷa envoys summoned and gave them the following message for the Coḷa king. "Beyond ear-shot², on a lonely island in the midst of the ocean shall a trial of the strength of our arms take place in single combat, or, after arming the whole forces of thy kingdom and of mine a battle shall be fought at a spot to be determined by thee: exactly in the manner I have said it shall ye report to your master". After these words he dismissed the envoys clad in women's apparel in haste to the Coḷa King, then he betook himself with his army to Anurādhapura. To the seaports Mattikāvāṭatittha³ and Mahātittha he sent two generals to betake themselves to the Coḷa kingdom and begin the war⁴. While the generals were procuring ships and provisions in order to send the troops to the Coḷa kingdom, then, in the thirtieth year (of the King's reign), the division of the troops called Velakkāra⁵ revolted as

¹ On the way into the Kaṇṇāta country.

² Some MSS. have *sonam vinā*, some *sotaṃ vinā* which comes to the same thing *n* and *t* being constantly mistaken for each other. I keep to *sotaṃ vinā* which gives excellent sense, but believe that we must derive *sota* from the Skr. *śrotra* rather than from *śrotas*. The alteration of the Col. Ed. into *senaṃ vinā* would merely be tautological.

³ The name means "clay-pit landing-place". The place is otherwise never mentioned.

⁴ Nothing is said about any answer of the Coḷa King to Vijayabāhu's challenge.

⁵ In the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruwa the *Veḷaikkāra* are mentioned as the troops which had taken over the guarding of the Tooth Relic. They were a group of soldiers or a military clan and accompanied, as we learn from inscriptions of Southern India (WICKREMASINGHE, EZ. II. 247), King Rājendra Coḷa I to Ceylon. Since that time they had great influence in the Island, serving as mercenaries to the king. According to RĀSANĀYAGAM Mudaliyar (JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, nr. 77, 1924, p. 268 f.) they took the vow to kill themselves if any evil befalls

37 they did not want to go thither. They slew the two generals
 and like rutting elephants in their unbridledness, they plun-
 38 dered the country round Pulatthinagara. They captured the
 younger sister of the King with her three sons¹ and burned
 39 down with violence the King's palace. The King left the
 town and betook himself in haste to Dakkhinadesa and having
 40 hidden all his valuable possessions on the Vātagiri² rook, he
 advanced together with the Uparāja Vīrabahu, of lion-like
 41 courage, and surrounded by a great force, to Pulatthinagara
 where after a sharp fight he shortly put the assembled troops
 42 to flight. Placing them around the pyre on which were
 laid the remains of the murdered generals, he had the recreant
 43 leaders of the troops, their hands bound fast to their backs,
 chained to a stake and burnt in the midst of the flames bla-
 44 zing up around them. The Ruler having (thus) executed there
 the ringleaders of the rebels³, freed the soil of Laṅkā every-
 where from the briers (of the rebels).

45 The King did not lose sight of the aim he had set him-
 self of fighting with the Coḷa (King), and in the forty-fifth
 46 year (of his reign) he marched with war-equipped troops to
 the port on the sea and stayed there some time awaiting his
 47 arrival. But as the Coḷa (King) did not appear, the King
 dismissed his envoys, returned to Pulatthinagara and resided
 there a considerable time.

48 The tanks Mahāheli, Sareheru and Mahādattika by name,
 49 Kaṭunnarū, Paṇḍavāpi and Kalalahallika by name, the tank

the king. Although their disloyalty was punished by Vijayabāhu with bloody severity, rebellions of the Velakkāras took place even at the time of Gajabāhu (63. 24 ff.) and Parakkamabāhu I. (74. 44 ff.).

¹ The Princess Mittā with her sons Mānābharaṇa, Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha. See 59. 41-2.

² See 58. 31 with note.

³ In *mānānaṃ gāmaṇī* the latter must be taken as acc. pl., the former as gen. pl. *Mānin* "proud, arrogant" is evidently the same as "unbridled, rebellious", as noun "rebel". W. translates: "moreover, the king laid waste the lands of the haughty nobles who dwelt there". But v. 44 still evidently refers to the execution of the rebel leaders.

Eraṇḍegalla and the Dīghavatthuka tank, the tanks Maṇḍavā-
 ṭaka and that of Kittaggabodhipabbata; the tanks Valāhassa, 50
 Mahādāragalla and Kumbhīlasobbhaka, the Pattapāsāṇa tank
 and the tank called Kāpa¹: these and many other tanks whose 51
 dams had burst, he had (newly) dammed up, since his efforts
 were ever directed to the welfare of the distressed. By build- 52
 ing dams here and there on brooks, rivers and streams the
 Sovereign made his kingdom fruitful. While damming up 53
 (anew) the damaged Tilavatthuka canal he filled the Maṇihīra
 tank with water. His own Mahesī who disturbed the peaceful 54
 life of the vihāras, he deprived of her revenues and had her
 led out into the town with an iron collar², conciliated the 55
 community and thus testified to the world his reverence for
 the Order. In the three fraternities in Mahāgāma he restored 56
 the relic shrines³ destroyed by the Coḷas⁴ and likewise the

¹ Of these lakes several have been already mentioned, others are mentioned later. The Mahādattika is mentioned 38 50 under Dhātusena, the Valāhassa 37. 185 under Upatissa II., as well as 42. 67 under Aggabodhi II. The Pattapāsāṇa was built according to 41. 61 by Moggallāna by the damming-up of the Kadambanadī which flows past Anurādhapura. The Kāpa which is mentioned under Sena I. and II., 50. 72 and 51 73, must probably be looked for in the vicinity of the Mihintale mountain. Amongst the many tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu I. which are enumerated 79. 31 ff. the Mahādatta, the Valāhassa, the Kumbhīlasobbhaka, the Mahādāragalla, the Pattapāsāṇa and the Kāpa recur. Lastly, among the lakes made or restored by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhinadesa before his ascent of the throne (68. 43 ff.) are the Katunnarū and the Kalalahallika (cf. also 70. 73, 163). The Paṇḍavāpi according to 68. 89 was enlarged by him. This must surely be the Paṇḍāvava in the North-West Province, about 16 miles N. W. of Kurunegala, notwithstanding PARKER's opinion against it. See CODRINGTON I. 70.

² Lit.: "by having her caught by the neck". It would seem that the Queen had infringed the right of asylum (*abhaya*) of the vihāra.

³ P. *dhātugabbha*, equivalent to Sinh. *dāgaba*, *dāgoba*, *dāgaba*. The word occurs already in the Mhvs 31. 94. Note that Pulaththinagara (60. 10) and Mahāgāma had each its three monastic fraternities (*taṃ nīkāya*, note to 41. 97) just as Anurādhapura.

⁴ Refers probably to the plundering of Rohaṇa by the Damiḷas under Mahinda V. See 55. 15 ff.

57 two Thūpārāmas¹. At the place of his mother's fire-burial as
 also at that of his father in Budalaviṭṭhi he erected five large
 58 dwelling houses (for bhikkhus). The vihāras Paṇḍavāpi, Pāṭhīna,
 Rakkhacetiyaṭṭhala, likewise Maṇḍalagiri, and the Madhutthala-
 59 vihāra, the vihāra called Uruvela and the vihāra in Devanagara,
 the vihāra Mahiyaṅgaṇa and the cave temple Sītalaggāma,
 60 the Jambukola-vihāra and Girikaṇḍaka, the Kuruindiya-vihāra
 61 and the cave temple of Jambukola, the Bhallātaka-vihāra and
 Paragāmaka, the vihāra called Kāsagalla and the vihāra called
 62 Candagiri, the Velagāmi-vihāra and that in the village Mahā-
 sena by name, the vihāra in Anurādhapura and the temple
 63 of the Bodhi Tree (there): these and many other vihāras²
 which had fallen into decay, the Sovereign restored and granted
 64 villages to every single one of them. With the wish that all

¹ That the Thupārāma of Anurādhapura and that of Pulatthīnagara are meant is not at all certain. According to the wording of the text — Mahāgāma stands at the beginning of the whole verse — one would expect the Thūpārāmadāvayaṃ to be in Mahāgāma.

² Of these vihāras that of Paṇḍavāpi lies without doubt near the lake mentioned 60. 48. Whether the Rakkhacetiyaṭṭhala is identical with the Rakkha-vihāra of 44. 51 remains doubtful. Cf. note 46. 29 for Maṇḍalagiri. Madhutthala is mentioned 75. 147 as a fortified place (*dugga*), and this is identified by COCHRAN (Notes on Ceylon Topography in the twelfth century, II.) with Migoda, a hamlet not far from Urubokka (Moravak Korale, Matara District). The Census of 1921 (II. 142) mentions a Migoda (and also a Madugoda) in the Talpe Pattuva of the Galle District. That *sinh. goda* is the equivalent of *thala* in the Pali form of place names in the Mhvs. is a discovery whose credit belongs to COCHRAN. Devanagara is the present Dondra. One could also translate v. 59 as follows: "the vihāra called Uruvela in Devanagara". Jambukolavīhāra and Jambukolalena are the Dambul monastery 26 miles N. of Matale, and its celebrated rock temple. The Bhallātaka-vihāra was built according to 38. 47 by Dhātusena. Kuruindiya might be identical with the Kurunda mentioned in 42. 15 as a foundation of Aggabodhi I. I believe the Candagiri-vihāra to be the monastery belonging to the Sandagiri Tope in Tissamahārāma. A Mahāsenā-vihāra is mentioned 48. 8 and 51. 76, a village Mahāsenāgāma 75. 103. Mahiyaṅgaṇa is known, see 51. 74, note. The other vihāras are only named in our passage. The reading Kāsagalla is doubtful.

the people who trod the difficult road to worship the footprint of the Sage on the Samantakūṭa¹ mountain might not become weary, he granted for the dispensing of gifts, the village called Gilimalaya² where there were rice fields and the like, and had rest-houses built on the road past Kadaligāma and on the path from the province of Hūva³ hither, granting villages to each of these (for providing maintenance) and after having the words "In future kings shall not take possession of these" engraved on a stone pillar the Monarch set this up. The villages of Antaraviṭṭhi, Saṃghātagāma and Sirimaṇḍagala-gāma he granted to the Lābhavasin (bhikkhus)⁴. To the Vantajīvaka bhikkhus⁵ he gave the four necessities and to their kindred he granted maintenance villages. In the cool season he gave to the bhikkhus abundantly of rugs and charcoal pans⁶, as well as of all kinds of medicine. He dispensed, the discerning (Prince), to the bhikkhu community in careful fashion over and over again all articles of necessity and of

¹ The old Mahāvamsa has only Sumanakūta as name for Adam's Peak. In the second part Samantakūṭa is the form used. From chapter 86 onwards the old name appears with it and is used by preference.

² Gilimalaya situated in the Kuruviti Korale of the Ratnapura District (Census of C. 1921, II. 476), is an example of resumption of a royal grant in Ceylon. Under the Kandyan government it was a royal village. H. W. CODRINGTON, H. C., p. 54.

³ Kadaligāma is without doubt the present Kehelgamuva (CODRINGTON) north of Adam's Peak, situated on the small river that joins the Maskeliya a little farther down. The river then joins the Kelaniganga at Yatiyantota. The sacred mountain was climbed from the North by way of Kadaligāma. From the East the path of approach led through the province Hūva, i. e. now Uva. The inscription of Ambagamuva (note to 58. 1) describes minutely all that the King did for the famous place of pilgrimage and so confirms the content of our passage.

⁴ See note to 54. 27. Of the three villages mentioned Antaraviṭṭhi occurs also in 61. 46 and 70. 322. It was situated in Rājaraṭṭha apparently not far from Pulatthinagara.

⁵ Evidently an ascetic sect similar to the Lābhavāsins just mentioned. The name means "one who has thrown away his life".

⁶ P. *aggikapalla* JaCo. VI. 8¹⁸ (D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH).

72 the necessities he gave eight-fold¹. The many villages in
 Rohaṇa granted by former kings, for the feeding of the com-
 73 munity, to the Lābhāvāsin bhikkhus and to those who made
 it their duty to sacrifice to the cetiyas and other sacred ob-
 jects, did he further without exception decree for the
 74 same purpose. To cripples the strong one gave strong oxen
 (for work) and to crows, dogs and other animals he dispensed
 75 food, great in pity. To many authors of poems he gave, him-
 self an eminent poet, great possessions with heritable villages².
 76 Did he hear verses composed by the sons of royal officials
 and by others, this prince of poets gave them befitting gifts
 77 of money. To the blind and the lame he granted villages
 separately and of that which was formerly spent for the shrines
 78 of the gods³ he took nothing away. To women of good
 family who were unprotected or widowed, the Sovereign gave
 79 according to their deserts, villages, food and clothing. The
 highly gifted King stood in the composition of Sihala poems
 80 at the head of the Sihala poets. The Uparāja (Virabāhu)⁴ who
 hung with reverence on the beautiful Baddhagūṇa-vihāra, had
 the cetiya here that had been destroyed by the Coḷas restored.
 81 Generous as he was⁵, he then made over to this superb vihāra
 82 fine villages and instituted regular sacrificial festivals. Near
 to the forest⁶ which lay close to this vihāra, he had a tank
 83 built which was solid and held abundant water. In the
 Kappūramūlāyatana⁷ the King's daughter Yasodharā built

¹ The *aṭṭha parikkhārā* of the bhikkhu are the alms-bowl, the three garments, girdle, razor, needle and water sieve. For the *catupaccayā*, on the other hand, see 37. 76 note.

² P. *pavenigāma* is a village that remains in possession of the family. The word is formed like *pavenirāja* DhCo. I. 169⁸.

³ The temples of the Hindu deities are meant.

⁴ See 59. 11; 60. 40.

⁵ P. *muttacāgi* as otherwise *muttacāgo* (Skr. *muktatyāga*) S. I. 228²⁰; A. I. 226¹²; DhCo. I. 421¹⁹; Mhvs. 51. 3.

⁶ P. *upacāravana*. Cf. PTS. P. D. s. v. *upacāra* 4: entrance, access, i. e. immediate vicinity or neighbourhood.

⁷ As *āyatana* at the end of names is used occasionally as *vihāra*

a massive, charming and large image house, and in the Se- 84
lantarasamūha (-vihāra)¹ she, created Queen² by the King,
erected a beautiful, lofty pāsāda which received the name of
Pasāda³. In the same way many courtiers and women of his 85
harem amassed many merits in many ways.

While thus the Sovereign of Laṅkā reigned over Laṅkā, 86
the Uparāja (Vīrabāhu), a man of excellent character, was
brought by cruel death into his power. After performing all 87
the funeral rites for him, he granted the dignity of uparāja,
at the counsel of the bhikkhus, to Jayabāhu⁴. The rank of 88
ādipāda he bestowed on Vikkamabāhu, and when later a son
was born to Vikkamabāhu, known by the name of Gajabāhu,
the King having taken counsel with his ministers, made over to 89
him, desirous of the welfare of his son, the whole of Rohaṇa
as dwelling-place. He (Vikkamabāhu) betook himself thither, 90
made the town of Mahānāgahula⁵ the capital and took up
his abode in it.

After this Ruler of men, Vijayabāhu, had thus for five 91
and fifty years rolled the wheel of dominion⁶ without its

(cf. Selantarāyatana, 78. 10) Kappūramūlāyatana may be meant for the
Kappūra-pariveṇa (45. 29; 46. 21; 50. 77) belonging to the Abhayagiri.

¹ Cf. 57. 37.

² I retain the reading *rājīnikatā* to which the MSS. point. We know
from 49. 3; 50. 58; 54. 11 that *rājīnī* is a title bestowed by the King
on his female kinswomen. It is thus clear from our passage that the
King raised his daughter Yasodharā to the rank of *rājīnī* and that she
then built the structure described in the verse.

³ The name was thus probably *Pasādapāsāda*, so called because
of the satisfaction (*pasāda*) felt by Yasodharā at the distinction con-
ferred on her.

⁴ This is quite in keeping with the Sinhalese law of succession
according to which before the son, in this case Vikkamabāhu, the younger
brother, has claim to the throne.

⁵ See note to 58. 39.

⁶ In the Tamil inscription of Polonnaruva (note to 58. 1) it is said
that the King Sirisamghabodhivarman Sirivijayabāhudēvar reigned
55 years and celebrated 73 birthdays. According to Pūjāv. he reigned
over 50, according to Rājāv. even 80 years.

wavering, and had served the Order as also the people sore vexed by fear of the wicked Daṃiḷas, he ascended to the heavenly world to behold the rich reward that had sprung from his meritorious works.

Here ends the sixtieth chapter, called "Care for the Laity and for the Order", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER LXI

HISTORY OF THE LIVES OF THE FOUR KINGS

Thereupon Mittā, the younger sister of the King, her three 1
 sons, the highest dignitaries and the ascetics dwelling in the
 district met together and without sending news of the Monarch's 2
 death to the Ādipāda (Vikkamabāhu) dwelling in Rohaṇa, they
 took counsel together and when they had become of one mind 3
 they bestowed the consecration as king of Lankā on the Yuva-
 rāja (Jayabāhu). But to the dignity of uparāja they appoint- 4
 ed the prince called Mānābharana, all thereby quitting the
 path of former custom¹. And all three brothers with Mānā- 5
 bharana at the head, in company with Jayabāhu, took forc-
 cible possession of all valuables regarded as specially costly, 6
 such as pearls, jewels and the like, as well as of the vehicl-
 es, and of the elephants and so on, and left Pulatthinagara 7
 with the whole army (with the intention): we will speedily
 seize (the person of) Vikkamabāhu. At the tidings of all these 8
 events Vikkamabāhu thought: "Unhappily I had no chance of
 paying my father the last honours, I will now betake myself 9
 in haste to Pulatthinagara and by gazing on my father's
 funeral pyre, assuage the heavy grief which weighs on my 10
 soul." With this firm resolve the Ādipāda left his town

¹ Jayabāhu's ascent of the throne is lawful (see note to 60. 87), un-
 lawful on the other hand, is the appointment of Mānābharana as uparāja,
 which at once makes him heir to the throne. After Jayabāhu, Vikkama-
 bāhu is heir, as son of Vijayabāhu. Evidently descent in the female
 line has to do with this, the *bhāgineyya* the son of the sister, having
 an exceptional position, a circumstance utilized by Mittā in furtherance
 of her ambitious plans. Jayabāhu is, as will appear, a puppet king.
 The whole influence is now already in Mānābharana's hand.

11 (Mahānāgahula) and full of high courage, accompanied by a
 12 force seven to eight hundred strong, set out for Pulatthina-
 13 gara. While still on the way, in the district of Guttasālā at
 14 the village of Panasabukka, he caught sight of the great
 15 army approaching in battle array, but he wholly a hero¹,
 16 free of all fear, opened fight and at once scattered the foe
 17 in all directions. Having suffered this defeat, the three bro-
 18 thers, stubborn-minded, armed troops and train anew, and
 19 gave battle in the district called by the name of Ādipāda-
 20 jambu, but Vikkamabāhu routed the three (brothers) still more
 21 severely in the battle. For the third time he fought them at
 Kaṭagāma, for the fourth time at Kālavāpi, for the fifth time
 at Uddhanadvāra, for the sixth time at Paṅkavelaka² and
 ever he was victorious, and reached Pulatthinagara accompa-
 nied by his ministers and attendants. In the intended way
 he visited his father's place of burial and freed of his great
 grief, and comforted he took up his abode in the town. On
 his ministers who had been his friends in need he bestowed
 according to merit, full maintenance by means of office; and
 to all the soldiers also who had come with him, he gave fit-
 ting reward mindful thereof that they had stood by him in
 his need.

21 The Monarch Mānābharana with the other brothers seized

¹ P. *ekavīro*, wrongly translated by W. "being the only brave man in his company". *Ēka* here has rather the sense of "only, purely, nothing but" as in *sakalanīvesanaṃ ekaravaṃ katvā* JaCo. I 486⁹, *aggim ekajālasamāhitam* Ja. VI. 495²⁸ etc.

² It can be proved that all these skirmishes took place in a comparatively narrow space to the north and north-east of Buttala. This is proved by the mention in the last place but one of Uddhanadvāra (= sinh. Ududora). The position of this place which is mentioned several times in chapters 74 and 75, has been in the main determined by CODRINGTON in his second article on the Topography of Ceylon in the 12th century. According to a notice in the Daḷadā-Pūjāvalī Ududora was situated at the mountain Amaragiri and this, as the Rate Mahatmaya Bibile was able to prove, is the older name for Monaragala N. E. of Buttala. Kālavāpi, if the reading is right, has at any rate nothing to do with Kalaveva.

Dakkhinadesa and Rohaṇa¹, and thereupon conferred on Kittisirimegha the province of Dvādasasahassaka² and ordered him to take up his abode there. Charged by his brother, the Ruler of men Kittisirimegha betook himself thither and dwelt in the town called Mahānāgahula³. To the Prince Sirivallabha by name he granted the region called Aṭṭhasahassa⁴ and commanded him to dwell there. So the latter betook himself thither, made of the village of Uddhanadvāra by name, the royal capital and dwelling there, ruled the land. He himself (Mānābharapa) advanced with the army to Dakkhinadesa and dwelt, under the name of Virabahu, in Puṅkhagāma⁵. The mother of the three brothers and the Monarch Jayabāhu so-journed at that time with Kittisirimegha (in Mahānāgahula).

A year having passed, Mānābharapa and the others remembering all the shameful⁶, severe defeats inflicted on them in battle by Vikkamabāhu, egged on ever and again by their

¹ A complete change of front has taken place. Vikkamabāhu has lost the province of Rohaṇa and in addition Dakkhinadesa to his enemies. On the other hand, he is now master of Rājaraṭṭha which was formerly in the hands of Jayabāhu and the sons of Mittā.

² The name means "Province of the twelve thousand (villages)". The Sinhalese Dolosdas corresponds to this (Coddington I. p. 63. 73). This name is even now, as I was able to verify in Matara, used as designation of the Giruva-Pattu of the Southern Province on the right bank of the lower Valaveganga. Cf. also note to v. 24.

³ In our passage the form Mahānāgasula is used.

⁴ Whether the name Aṭṭhasahassaka "the province of the eight thousand (villages)" may be compared with that of the Atakalan Korale in the Ratnapura District is doubtful. At any rate, another district was meant at the time to which our passage refers. This is already proved by the fact that Uddhanadvāra (note above to v. 16) was according to v. 25, made the capital of Aṭṭhasahassaka. It seems that the whole of Rohaṇa at that time was split in two. The region west of the Valaveganga was called Dvādasasahassaka, that east of the river Aṭṭhasahassaka Coddington I. c.

⁵ We do not know where Puṅkhagāma is situated, although according to 79. 61 Parakkamabāhu I. erected a tope there 120 cubits high of which there ought still to be traces.

⁶ P. *durussaha*, lit. "difficult to endure".

30 stubborn pride, thought thus: "How in Rājaraṭṭha of the
 Kings of consecrated head dare this single man hold sway
 31 without the royal consecration?" Their envy reached its high-
 est point and with still more¹ followers (than the first time)
 32 they set forth united to begin the war. When Vikkamabāhu
 learned of this matter from messengers he advanced at the
 33 head of a large army thither where they were². In Dakkhi-
 nadesa by the village of Bodhisenapabbata Vikkamabāhu de-
 34 feated in battle the three (brothers). With the intention to
 root out now all his enemies he pursued the fugitives at
 35 their heels. They withdrew into a stronghold in the province
 of Pañcayojana, but he in order to capture them, advanced
 to Kalyāṇi³.

36 A warrior, lord of the Ariya country⁴, Vīradeva by name,
 37 sole sovereign of Palandīpa, a most foolhardy man, landed at
 that time with brave warriors in Mahātittha in the belief he
 would be able to bring the whole of Laṅkā into his power.
 38 Now when the Sovereign Vikkamabāhu heard of the matter,
 he thought: so long as he has not yet gained a firm footing
 39 in Laṅkā he must be rooted out. So he marched from Ka-
 lyāṇi and betook himself to the village called Mannāra⁵ near
 40 Mahātittha. Vīradeva offered the King⁶ battle. Two princes,
 41 brothers, Anikaṅga and the other, as well as the Commander-
 in-chief, known by the name of Kittī, he killed by violence
 42 as well as many people, acknowledged warriors. The Senāpati

¹ I connect *bhūyo* with *saṃgayha sāvake*. To change the MSS. reading *bhūyo* into *bhūyo* is unnecessary. The compilers of the later Mahāvamsa were strongly influenced by Sanskrit.

² P. *tesaṃ visayaṃ*, lit. "to their domain or district".

³ If Mānābharaṇa and his brothers retire as far as Pañcayojana (see note to 57. 71) then they must surrender the greater part of Dakkhiṇadesa. In the pursuit Vikkamabāhu penetrates to Kalyāṇi that is to the district on the lower Kālani-ganga (Colombo and its hinterland).

⁴ We have probably to read *Ariyadesāso* = *Ariya-desa-iso*.

⁵ The present Mannar in the district of the same name in the Northern Province.

⁶ I prefer to read *tena rājina* with the Col. Ed. against the *rājino* of the MSS.

Rakkhaka he captured alive, and after defeating Vikkamabāhu and his army, he followed him at his heels. Fleeing in terror Vikkamabāhu reached his capital, took all his movable property and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra¹. Viradeva who was ever hard at his heels, reached the capital and took up his abode there for some days, then he set off in haste thither to capture Vikkamabāhu. But the latter sent off his whole large army, forced Viradeva to fight in a great swampy wilderness near the village of Antaraviṭṭhika², slew him and dwelling then with might in Pulatthinagara, without the royal consecration it is true, he held sway as monarch in Rājaraṭṭha.

The three brothers now gave up their lust for war and dwelt each in his province to which he had betaken himself. But despite their efforts, the four princes³, were quite unable to unite this country under one umbrella. In their heedless way of acting they slighted people of good family and placed ambitious⁴ men of the lower classes in leading positions. The deluded ones injured the Order and the laity who had variously been furthered in the best possible way by Vijayabāhu. From people of good family even in the absence of an equivalent offence, they would seize forcibly their possessions. In their insatiability⁵ and money lust they squeezed out the whole people as sugar cane in a sugar mill, by

¹ This passage together with 70. 305 and 71. 6 makes it certain that Koṭṭhasāra was situated in the east (south or north-east) of Pulatthinagara. CODRINGTON II. says also: "This place, therefore, probably was not far from Kantalai and was in the King's Country".

² Antaraviṭṭhi must thus have been situated about halfway between Koṭṭhasāra and Pulatthinagara. The name occurs also in 60. 68, and again in 70. 322 in an account of battles which apparently took place in the neighbourhood of Pulatthinagara.

³ The three brothers and Vikkamabāhu.

⁴ I take *sābhimata* to mean the same as *sābhimāna* (skr. the same) "proud". The p. part. *abhimata* stands as so frequently, instead of the abstract substantive (cf. for ex. *mata* "dying, the death" = *maraṇa* Therag. 194 etc.).

⁵ Most likely we have to read *te 'khiṇatosā*.

54 levying excessive taxes. King Vikkamabāhu took the main-
 55 tenance villages which belonged to the Buddha and so forth
 56 and gave them to his attendants. In Pulatthinagara he gave
 over several vihāras distinguished by (the possession of) relics,
 57 to foreign soldiers to live in. Precious stones, pearls and the
 like, presented by the pious as offerings for the Relic of the
 58 Alms-bowl, and for the sacred Tooth Relic, the sandelwood,
 the aloes, the camphor, the many images of gold and the
 59 like which he took forcibly, he used as it pleased him. Be-
 holding this manifold evil committed against the Order and
 60 the laity, the ascetics in the eight chief vihāras¹, looked up
 to as people worthy of honour, and the Pamsukūlin bhikkhus
 belonging to the two divisions², were wroth at the matter
 and thinking it were better to remove themselves from the
 vicinity of people who like those erring from the faith,
 61 wrought in this way so much evil against the Order, they
 took the sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, betook
 themselves to Rohaṇa and settled themselves here and there
 62 in places where it pleased them. In the same way people of
 good family, scattered here and there, kept themselves hid-
 den in places which seemed good to them and made their
 abode there.

63 The officers belonging to the retinue of the monarchs on
 both sides who were established on the frontiers, fought with
 64 each other continually. By setting fire to many flourishing
 villages and market towns, by piercing tanks filled with water,
 65 by destroying everywhere the weirs on all the canals and
 by hewing down all useful trees like the coconut palm and
 66 others, they in fighting each other, so devastated the king-
 dom that it was impossible to trace even the sites of the old
 67 villages. And even the rulers did evil to the people letting
 their retainers plunder the towns and commit highway rob-

¹ P. *aṭṭhamūlavihāresu* in Pulatthinagara. Later (84. 4, 18) *aṭṭhā-yatanāni* are mentioned in Jambuddoṇi = Dambadeniya.

² We hear nothing further of this organisation of the Pamsukūlins. It is worth noting that the sect now wholly vanishes. It is never mentioned again.

bery. The slaves too and the workmen of people of good 68
family despised their masters without respect and void of
all fear. They became mercenaries to the kings and worming 69
themselves into their confidence, they, by means of offices
conferred on them, attained ever greater power. The people 70
dwelling in places difficult of access like the Samantakūṭa
and so forth, no longer paid to the monarch the taxes for-
merly levied on them. They despised the king, became rene- 71
gades¹ and dwelt independent, each in his own region. "What 72
is based on wrong speedily changes," this proverb was by no
means true of the land of Laṅkā at that time².

Like (greedy) tenants of villages wholly and ever void of 73
all dignity, their mind bent on destruction without end, wholly
lacking in royal pride, false to their own or to others' wel-
fare, without any restraint in their efforts: thus lived all these
rulers forsaking the path of (good and ancient) custom.

Here ends the sixty-first chapter, called "History of the
Lives of the Four Kings", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for
the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Here we meet for the first time a word frequently occurring in
chapters 74-76 *dāmarika*, in the abstract form *dāmarikattana* (suff. -*ttana*
= skr. -*ivana*, cf. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar, § 1240). I find *dāmarika*
for the first time in Buddhaghosa, in the Samantapāsādikā, OLDENBERG,
Vinaya III. 320³⁰. In Skr. we have *dāmarika* with cerebral initial sound,
for ex. Kauṭ. 4. 9 (84) near the end.

² Lit.: "The land Laṅkā never came at that time to such a condition
that one could say: "What is based on wrong etc." One should com-
pare with this *iti vattabbataṃ nāpajjati* DhCo. IV. 44. We have to do
evidently with the quotation of a popular proverb equivalent to the
English saying: "Ill gotten good seldom thrives". But this proverb
could not be applied to Laṅkā at that time, had no bearing on Laṅkā
(the *n'eva* of the MSS. must not be altered to *yeva*), since the evil, the
wrong was just in full bloom.

CHAPTER LXII

THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE

1 The Ruler Jayabāhu¹ and the Queen Mittā by name who
 2 had sojourned in Rohaṇa, departed now by death. The con-
 sort of Sirivallabha, Sugalā, bore two children, a son Mā-
 3 nābharāṇa and a daughter Līlāvati. The royal consort of
 Prince Mānābharāṇa also bore two daughters, Mittā and Pa-
 4 bhāvati. When the Mahādipāda Vīrabāhu² beheld these his
 two daughters, he was struck by the following consideration:
 5 "We are sprung from the pure dynasty of the Moon³, highly
 6 esteemed in the world, at the head of all royal houses. In
 outward appearance (we are) enviable, distinguished by every
 aptitude, experienced in the various sciences, skilful in the
 7 managing of elephants, horses and the like. And yet we
 three have over and over again suffered severe defeat in fight
 8 by the single Vikkamabāhu and there is no prospect of the
 birth of a son who would be capable of wiping out this stain.
 9 Ah, how small is our merit! What avails me a royal dig-
 nity which is defiled by the evil tattle of the people? I must
 10 now give up my bent to worldly things and spend⁴ my days

¹ The length of the reign is not given. According to Pūjāv. it was 13 years. Rājāv. where we have the name Vijayabāhu, not Jayabāhu, says 3 years. In Rājaraṭn. a Vijayabāhu is inserted after Jayabāhu. Here it is evident that the name of the father of Vikkamabāhu which is expressly given in the two other sources, has crept into the text as the name of a new king.

² I. e. Mānābharāṇa, who according to 61. 26 had assumed this name. He bore the title Mahādipāda being considered by his brothers the lawful successor of Jayabāhu.

³ P. *somavaṃsa*, skr. *somavaṃśa*. Soma is the Moon deity.

⁴ *Netabbā* instead of the meaningless *te tayo* is apparently a conjectural reading by S. and B. At any rate it is so convincing that I adopt it without scruple.

unweariedly in pious works." He made over the whole administration of the kingdom to his ministers¹ and while he 11 himself sojourned there seven or eight months, he camped one night in the temple of the King of the gods², observing the precepts of moral discipline. Now about dawn the Ruler 12 saw in a dream a wondrous god with glittering raiment and ornaments, adorned with fragrant flower wreaths, illuminating 13 with his sublime beauty and the glory of his presence the whole heavens³ like to the sun when it has risen on the 14 firmament and he heard him speak thus: "Be content, O greatly blessed! be joyful, O King! A splendid son, furnished 15 with the tokens of power, who shall be able to carry out his designs, well instructed, of a courage whose splendour shall spread through the world, glorious in might and strength, 16 honour and fame, a fount of excellent qualities, a furtherer of the Order and of the laity shall be attained by thee ere long, 17 O mighty King! Now go at once to the town where dwell wife and child." As at daybreak he awoke full of joyful ex- 18 citement, the best of men betook himself to Puṅkhagāma. Even as he had seen it so the Ruler related the beautiful 19 dream to his ministers in the presence of the Mahesī. He 20 then in company with the Mahesī, with the wish for a distinguished son, amassed all kinds of good deeds, such as almsgiving, the observing of the moral prescripts and the like. And one day at morn he saw himself in a dream 21 entering the sleeping chamber of the Mahesī holding gently by the ear a beautiful, pure white elephant calf endowed 22 with all auspicious marks. When he awoke he rose from his splendid couch and his heart merry with joy and rapture, he betook himself at this time to the sleeping chamber of the 24 Mahesī and told her the dream, as he had seen it. "I also 25

¹ Here we must supplement "and withdrew into solitude".

² Name of Indra = Sakka.

³ *Aśesāsā* (= *asesa-āsā*, skr. *āśā*) Another excellent emendation by S. and B. instead of *asesāyo*. Perhaps *asesāsāyo* would be even better in spite of the metrical irregularity. It might then be assumed that it was just this which led to the corruption of the text.

in a dream have embraced such a young elephant. It walked round my bed its right side turned towards it, then stood still.
 26 Drawing it by the trunk to me and raising it up to my couch (I tenderly embraced it.)” Thus the Queen told him.
 27 The twain having thus made known to each other what they had seen, awaited joyfully and without slumbering, the
 28 break of day. In the morning they inquired of the house priest¹ who had come to pay his respects, and the sooth-sayers. When these heard this they announced full of joy:
 29 “Within a short time, without doubt, the birth will take place of a son who shall bear on him the marks of (future)
 30 power”. When they heard that, then all of them — ministers, citizens and the Ruler of men had the feeling of a great
 31 festival of joy. From that moment onward the Prince who wished above all a happy issue, had the Paritta recited over
 32 and over again by the community of the bhikkhus. To countless beggars he distributed daily as alms costly gifts — jewels,
 33 pearls and the like. Rites like the Homa² sacrifice and others held to be salutary, he had performed by the house priest and other brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda and the Vedāṅgas³.
 34 Ruined vihāras and relic shrines and destroyed tanks he ordered the royal workmen to rebuild. While the Lord of men thus spent the day in pious action there grew shortly in the
 35 womb of the Queen a splendid fruit. When the Lord of men heard this, full of joy, he had an ample pregnancy gift⁴

¹ P. *purohita*. He was a Brahman. Cf. below v. 33 and specially v. 45 ff. The court life was organised according to Brahmanical rules.

² Skr. *homa* (from *hu* “to pour into the fire”) is the general term for “sacrifice”. *Āhuti* is older. An enumeration of the different *homā* with a terminology differing in part from that of Sanskrit ritual literature, is given D. I. 9 (= I. 1. 21). This passage has already been alluded to by HILLEBRANDT, *Ritual-Litteratur, Vedische Opfer und Zauber*, p. 18.

³ The *vedāṅgāni*, the ancillary sciences of the Veda, include *sikṣā* “phonetics”, *chandas* “metre”, *nirukta* “etymology”, *vyākaraṇa* “grammar”, *kalpa* “ritual” and *jyotiṣa* “astronomy”. A. A. MACDONELL, *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 264 ff. M. WINTERITZ, *Gesch. der indischen Literatur*, I, p. 229 ff.

⁴ P. *gabbhaparihāra*. By *parihāra* is meant every extraordinary grant

bestowed on the Queen. When in course of time the fruit 37
 of her body grew ripe, the Queen bore a son at a moment
 marked by a lucky constellation. Clear at this moment were 38
 all the quarters of the heavens and cool, fragrant, gentle
 breezes blew. With the trumpeting of the elephants and the 39
 neighing¹ of the horses the royal courtyard was filled with
 resounding din. When the Ruler Mānābharaṇa full of as- 40
 tonishment beheld the extraordinary signs and wonders mani-
 fested in such divers ways, and when he then heard the news 41
 of the birth of his son, he was filled with joy at the fulfil-
 ment of his wish, as if anointed with ambrosia. He set many 42
 free who lay bound in fetters in prison and gave a splendid
 alms to the samāṇas and the brāhmaṇas. And the people 43
 who dwelt in the town, with the ministers at the head,
 adorned the whole of the royal capital in divers ways, with
 arches of banana leaves and the like and trimmed and beauti- 44
 fully clad, they held for several days a great and joyous feast.
 According to the rules laid down in the Veda, the Monarch 45
 had the birth rites² and the other ceremonies performed for
 the boy. He then summoned the house priest and the other 46
 brāhmaṇas versed in the lore of body marks and having shown
 them the customary reverence and distinction, he charged 47

given for a special occasion. *Gābaperahāra* in Sinhalese means a parti-
 cular ceremony to be performed when pregnancy has taken place (the
Kusajātaka v. 150, ed. by A. M. GUNASEKARA has *gābapelaḥāra*); but the
 verb *adāpayi* does not agree with this meaning.

¹ Amongst the ancient Germans the neighing of a horse was also
 regarded as a propitious sign. GRIMM, Deutsche Mythologie, 3. 442;
 cf. HILLEBRANDT, Ritual-Litteratur, S. 183. We are familiar with the tale
 of Herodotus 3. 84, 85, according to which Darius gained his crown
 through the neighing of his horse. The Slaves on the other hand, con-
 sider the restlessness and neighing of horses as an ill omen. Thus in
 the Serbian folk song of Ibrahim Nukić, F. S. KRAUSS, Slavische Volks-
 forschungen, p. 397.

² P. *jātakamma* = skr. *jātakarman* in which four ceremonies are to
 be distinguished: 1) *āyusya* "giving of life", 2) *medhājanana* "the giving
 of understanding" 3) *stanapratidhāna* "the giving of the breast" and
 4) *nāmakaraṇa* "the giving of the name". HILLEBRANDT, l. c. p. 45.
 SPEIJER, Jātakarman, Leiden 1872.

them with the determination of the body marks of the boy. After carefully observing all the marks on his hands and feet they announced joyfully to the King who stood amid the throng of his courtiers and to the Queen thus: "Apart from the island of Laṅkā he is able to unite under one umbrella and to rule even the whole of Jambudīpa." The King gladdened them with gifts and asked further courteously: "Is there any unfavourable sign to be seen or not?" "The boy will have a long life but there is an unfavourable constellation for the father," they answered the Ruler. Having regard to the heroic strength of his foe-crushing arms, he received the significant name of Parakkamabāhu¹. Versed in the ritual, his father had the ceremony of the piercing of the ears² and the ceremony of the first rice food³ performed exactly according to custom. He then sent his messengers to Pulatthinagara to bring Vikkamabāhu⁴ the news of the birth of his son. When Vikkamabāhu heard from them of the splendour promising qualities of his sister's son but also of the inauspicious constellation for the father he thought: "A splendid nephew, gleaming like a jewel that is the centre stone⁵ in the chain of kings beginning with King Vijaya

¹ The ceremony of the *nāmakaraṇa* is performed according to most of the *Gr̥hyasūtras* on the 10th day. According to others even later, after a hundred nights or after a year. HILLEBRANDT, l. c., p. 46 f.

² P. *kaṇṇavedha* = skr. *karnavedha*, a ceremony mentioned only in one MS. of Pāraskara's *Gr̥hyasūtra*, performed in the third or the fifth year. SPEIJER, l. c., p. 21; HILLEBRANDT, l. c., p. 50.

³ P. *annapāsana* = skr. *annaprāsana*. According to the rule common to all the *Gr̥hyasūtras* the ceremony is performed in the 6th month. HILLEBRANDT, l. c., p. 48. There is no mention here of the ceremony of the taking out of the child for the first time that he may see the sun *ādityadarśanārthaṃ*. It takes place according to Manu I. 34 *caturthe māsi*.

⁴ One may assume from this passage that after their unsuccessful wars against Vikkamabāhu the princes of Rohaṇa recognised him as king.

⁵ P., skr. *nāyaka*. For the meaning of "central gem" see BR. s. v., 3. The fundamental meaning is "leader, chief".

hath he begotten me. That no harm may at any time befall 57
 him, the boy shall grow up here in my immediate neigh-
 bourhood. To win unachieved and to keep achieved advantage 58
 this my son Gajabāhu will in no case be able. And my other 59
 son Mahinda, though gifted with heroic courage and other
 excellent qualities, stands lower owing to his mother's origin
 and is unworthy of the crown. My sister's son shall one day 60
 enjoy to his heart's desire the dominion which is prosperous
 through the treasures I have amassed in many ways." He 61
 then sent messengers to fetch the boy and gave them orna-
 ments for the boy and other valuables as gift. When the 62
 Ruler Vīrabāhu heard all this out of the mouth of the mes-
 sengers he said to himself: "These prudent words he hath
 spoken in thought for my good. Nevertheless it is not meet 63
 to send away such a jewel of a son of one's own body for
 the warding off of evil which threatens me. Moreover, if the 64
 boy is taken thither, the party of Vikkamabāhu like fire 65
 joined with the strength of the storm, will gleam¹ with
 mighty, up-shooting flames, but our misfortune, alas so great,
 will become still worse!" So he gave not his son to the mes- 66
 sengers who had arrived in his dominions but dismissed them
 after satisfying them with a gift of money.

The Lord of men who leading there with wife and child 67
 a harmonious life, was attacked by an evil disease and was
 forced to give up his life at the same moment with the royal
 dignity.

Here ends the sixty-second chapter, called "The Birth of
 the Prince", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy
 and emotion of the pious.

¹ The translation rests on the conjectural reading of the Col. Ed.
saṃjalissati in place of the *saṃkilissati* of the MSS.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE ARRIVAL IN THE CITY OF SANKHATTHALĪ

1 When the two other brothers heard of the death of the
 2 eldest, they came hither in haste and had the last rites per-
 3 formed for him. Kittisirimegha hereupon took possession of
 4 the province of his elder brother. He then summoned the
 5 youngest brother (Sirivallabha), made over to him the two
 6 other provinces and ordered him to live there. The latter
 7 obeyed the orders of his elder brother, took the boy (Parak-
 8 kamabāhu) and the Queen Ratanāvalī and her two daughters¹
 9 and betook himself to the town of Mahānāgahula. While he
 10 dwelt there in harmony (with them) he had the ceremony of
 11 the first dressing of the hair² performed on the boy and
 brought him up with great pomp. Thereupon he wished to
 marry the eldest daughter of the Queen, Mittā by name, to
 his son (Mānābharana) and took counsel thereupon with his
 ministers: „Princes of the dynasty of Kālinga have many
 times and oft attained to dominion in this island of Laṅkā.
 If now this Queen were to send her daughter away secretly
 to wed her to Gajabāhu³ who is sprung from the Kālinga
 stock, he would in connection with the marriage become
 mightier, but my son here would be without any support at
 all. Hence it is advisable to give the princess to my son:
 as the matter lies this will be for our advantage.” When

¹ Mittā and Pabhāvatī, 62. 3.

² P. *sikhāmaha*. This corresponds to the *cūḍākaraṇa* of the Grhya-sūtras. According to Sāṅkhāyana this ceremony should be performed on a Kshatriya in the fifth year, otherwise the third year is generally given. HILLEBRANDT l. c., p. 49.

³ He was the grandson of Vijayabāhu I. and of Tilokasundarī who came from the Kālinga country.

the Queen who was an ornament of the Sun dynasty, heard all this, as she by no means wished the affair, she spake to the Ruler thus: "After the Prince named Vijaya had slain 12 all the yakkhas and made this island of Laṅkā habitable for men, since then one has allied the family of Vijaya with 13 ours by unions above all with scions of the Kalinga line. Union with other princes was also hitherto unknown with 14 us save with kings of the Moon dynasty. How then, just 15 because he is your son, could there be for us a union with that prince who has sprung from the Ariya dynasty¹? Al- 16 though the Queen in this wise protested over and over again, he nevertheless forcing (the matter) wedded the princess to his son. This (prince) accompanied by his consort, distin- 17 guished by many virtues, winning all people for himself, dwelt with his father.

Vikkamabāhu having enjoyed the royal dignity one and 18 twenty years², death ensuing, he passed to the other world. Hereupon Gajabāhu³ took possession of the flourishing king- 19 dom endowed with army and train, and dwelt in Pulatthina-gara. When however the Monarchs (of Rohaṇa) Kittisirimegha 20 and Sirivallabha heard of the event, they reflected thus: "As 21 Vikkamabāhu was the elder, his dominion in the chief king- 22 dom could in no wise be a reproach to us, but that his son

¹ What is meant is the Aryan dynasty of the Pāṇḍya (called Paṇḍu in the Mahāvamsa) in Southern India. The mother of Sirivallabha and grandmother of the young prince Mānābharaṇa, Mittā, was according to 59. 41, married to the Paṇḍurāja. Ratanāvalī evidently denies to Mittā's offspring the connection with the Moon dynasty of which they boast in 62. 5.

² According to Pūjāv. and Rājāv. Vikkamabāhu reigned 28 years.

³ It is worthy of note that of the four Sinhalese sources which I have consulted for comparison, only Nik.-s. mentions Gajabāhu. Pūjāv. Rājāv. and Rājajātā. pass from Vikkamabāhu at once to Parakkamabāhu, whom the two first, in addition, describe as the son of Kittisirimegha. It was mentioned above (note to 59. 49) that Gajabāhu is named in the Dimbulagala inscription as son of Sundarī and Vikkamabāhu. An inscription of Gajabāhu at Kapuru-vedu-oya (Matale District) was published by H. W. CODRINGTON, JRAS. C. B. xxvi, Nr. 71, 1919, p. 53 ff.

who is not of age should now rule in the main realm — it is in truth not meet for us to permit that. So long as he has not taken root in his province, we must take forcible possession of this province.” The whole of the Velakkāra¹ troops they suborned by gifts of money. Save for a few retainers of his immediate retinue, all the inhabitants of the kingdom soon fell away from their ruler Gajabāhu and sent messengers over and over again to the two kings: “With one accord we will seize the kingdom and give it over to you, but ye must give us support.” Thereupon the two brothers equipped in haste their army and advanced from two sides to the centre of the kingdom². They sent off envoys³. The Monarch Gajabāhu assembled thereupon his ministers and took counsel with them: “The whole of the Velakkāra troops are in open revolt; the two kings have advanced to fight against our realm. If we first can deal the mightier part of them a decisive blow⁴, then it will be easy to get rid of the others.” Having thus resolved, he took his whole army and marched against King Sirivallabha to fight him. King Sirivallabha fought an extraordinarily bitter action from morning till evening. But being unable to defeat the other he beat a retreat and betook himself in haste to his own province again. The Ruler Kittisirimegha also, vanquished by Gokaṇṇa⁵, an officer of Gajabāhu, returned to his province. The Ruler of men, Gajabāhu, who had suffered no harm in this war, also betook himself again to the neighbourhood of his capital. After the powerful (Gajabāhu) had punished many generals who

¹ See note to 60. 36.

² The centre of the kingdom is the capital Pulatthinagara. Kittisirimegha must have marched against it from Dakkhinadesa that is from the South-West, Sirivallabha from the South-East.

³ Evidently to Gajabāhu, demanding that he should voluntarily surrender the kingdom.

⁴ P. *mukhabhaṅga* lit. a “smashing of the face or the mouth”, an expression evidently borrowed from the terminology of the prize fighter. It occurs again 75. 75.

⁵ For this general who had his headquarters in Kālāvāpi, see further below 66. 35 ff., 70. 68 ff.

had offended against him, and having pacified the kingdom, he entered his town. After that the (three) Monarchs each 37 in his province, lived in amity with one another. But the 38 Monarch's son¹ Parakkamabāhu, the discerning one, who was well schooled in all the arts, with his intelligence, capable 39 of distinguishing amid the multitude of things what should and what should not be done, with his soaring plans and his extraordinary greatness, cared not at heart for the comfort 40 of a life lived together with his mother and sisters, nor for the delight of the many childish games. He thought: "Prin- 41 ces like myself, gifted with heroism and other such like qualities—how can they live in such a secluded district? I will 42 betake myself now to the land of my birth which as Yuvārāja I may enjoy", and he left his place of abode, accompanied by his retinue. In course of time he came near to 43 the village which bore the name Saṅkhanāyakatthali². When Kittisirimegha heard of it the heartache he felt at being 44 so alone, because he lacked a son fit to inherit the royal dignity, was assuaged and he thought: "My great, enduring 45 merit is rewarded in that I now can behold in him who is his living image, as it were my elder brother". Swayed by 46 joyful excitement, the Ruler of men had the charming town decked out abundantly with triumphal arches and the like and on a day and under a special constellation held to be 47 propitious, he, surrounded by his hosts, went forth to meet him. And when he beheld the Prince gifted with qualities 48 with which those of others could not compare, and with all

¹ P. *nandana*, here "son" like skr. *nandana*. Cf. v. 51, note.

² The situation of this place, called also *Saṅkhanāththalī* (66. 9; 67. 78, 82) or *Saṅkhatthalī* (64. 22), is unknown. According to 65. 4 ff. it was about 5 *gāvuta* (about 10 miles) distant from Badalatthalī. It is clear too from 67. 81-82, that the two places were not far from each other. Badalatthalī must indeed have lain on the borders of Dakkhinadesa. As Badalatthalī or-la (see note to 58. 43) is probably the present Batalagoda, N. E. of Kurunegala, Saṅkhatthalī would have to be looked for somewhere in the region of Polgahawela or Kegalla. At any rate under Kittisirimegha it was the capital of Dakkhinadesa.

49 favourable marks, then full of joy he embraced him tenderly,
 drawing him to his breast and kissing him again and again on
 50 the head, whereby in face of the great multitude he shed con-
 51 tinuously from his eyes floods of joyful tears. Thereupon he
 mounted with his son¹ a beautiful chariot and filling the ten
 52 regions of the firmament² round about with the clanging of the
 drums, he entered the town and showing his son all the beau-
 tiful decorations there, he entered the royal palace (with him).
 53 When then a numerous retinue such as crowds of chamber-
 lains, cooks and the like had been bestowed on him, he lived
 happily with his father whose heart was contented by his
 manifold excellences.

Here ends the sixty-third chapter, called "The Arrival in the City of Saṅkhatthali", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ The brother's son is called "son" just as on the other hand, the nephew calls the brother of his father simply "father" (v. 53, cf. note to 51. 24). Cousins who are sons of brothers, call each other brothers, thus 48. 51, 61. Aggabodhi VI. and VII. Buddhaghosa calls Ānanda the "brother of the Buddha" because he was *cullaputro putto* (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī ed. RVTS DAVIDS and J. E. CARPENTER I. p. 4²⁹) The position of the sister's son (*bhāgineyya*) is thereby the more marked.

² Namely the four chief regions of the heavens, the four intermediary regions, zenith (skr. *ūrdhvaṃ*) and nadir (skr. *tiryak* or *adhaḥ*). Cf. skr. *daśa diśaḥ*.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE DEPARTURE FOR THE OTHER COUNTRY

After the arrival in his beloved native land, his heart's 1
 desire was fulfilled and all anxious yearning left him. And 2
 now with the help of his lightning-like intelligence he learned
 easily and quickly from his teachers the various accomplish-
 ments. In the numerous books of the Victor (Buddha), in 3
 the works on politics, as in that of Koṭalla¹ and others, in
 grammar and poetry together with the knowledge of voca-
 bulary and ritual², in dance and song, in the art of driving 4
 the elephant and so forth, above all in the lore of the mani-
 pulation of the bow, the sword and other weapons he was
 past master. Admirably trained, he did everything that ac- 5
 corded with the King's, his father's wishes and was never
 lacking in reverence.

¹ Conjectural reading for the *kosalla*, *komalla* or *kocalla* of the MSS. Cf. 70. 56. I believe that Kauṭalya i. e. Cāṇakya, the famous minister of Candragupta is meant. He is alleged to be the author of a text book on politics, Artha-śāstra, which has been recently discovered. What is important is that the Cūlavamśa seems to confirm the name *Kauṭalya* as against *Kauṭilya*. It is handed down by Hemacandra, Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi 853 (see BR. s. v., HILLEBRANDT, Ueber das Kauṭīliyaśāstra und Verwandtes, p. 1) and seems to be the reading of the best MSS. so that in GANAPATI'S new edition it appears throughout. I regard it as the original form for the following simple reason. The fact that the forms Kauṭalya and Kauṭilya have been handed down together is indisputable. Now *kauṭilya* as a variant of the original *kauṭalya*, in allusion to the content and character of the Artha-śāstra (skr. *kuṭila* "crooked, cunning") is quite intelligible. On the other hand, it is not easy to explain why a word so distinct and of such definite meaning as *kauṭilya* should be changed into *kauṭalya*. See however J. JOLLY, Zeitschr. für Indologie und Iranistik V. 216 ff.

² P. *sanighaṇḍukaketubhe*. See PTS. P. D. s. vv. *nighaṇḍu* and *ketubha*.

6 The Ruler (Kittisirimegha) at heart ever well pleased
 with the virtue (practised by the Prince) of reverent demean-
 7 our, enjoyed with him as with a good friend various pas-
 times, such as sport in the garden and in the water and
 while he was travelling here and there about the country
 8 with him, he came one day near the village called Ba-
 9 dalatthali which served as the abode of the loyal, powerful
 Senāpati Saṅkha who was entrusted with the defence of the
 10 frontier. When the Senāpati heard that, he had the village
 at once made ready, went forth to meet the Monarch and his
 son and remained, after he had bowed himself, standing before
 11 them. The twain, father and son, addressed him with friendly
 words and being satisfied by him in various ways, they visited
 12 the village. When the Monarch had sojourned there some
 days he summoned the Senāpati to him and spake the follo-
 13 wing words: "My son is now grown to manhood and is ripe
 for admission¹. To perform the ceremony of admission great
 14 preparations are necessary". When the Senāpati heard that,
 he made at once the best of preparations for the festival.
 15 After instituting with sweet savours, lamps, flowers and other
 things of the kind for three days an abundant offering² for
 16 the three jewels and after he had the ceremony performed, in
 a manner befitting his high rank, by Brahmans versed in
 17 the ritual of the Veda, the Ruler together with the Prince
 Parakkama in the midst of his courtiers set about enjoying a
 great spring festival³.

¹ P. skr. *upanayana*. This is the ceremony of taking the son to the Brahman teacher. With the Kshatriya it takes place between the 11th and the 22nd year. With this is associated at the same time the admission to the religious community as fully qualified member. BR s. v.; HILLEBRANDT, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 50 ff.

² P. *pubbakāra* The expression is found also in A. iv. 25^{16, 25}, where among things harmful for the lay brother is mentioned the choosing by him outside of the Order, (*ito bahiddhā*) of a person who seems worthy of reverence, a *dakkhiṇeyya*, *tattha ca pubbakāraṃ karoti*.

³ Cf. skr. *vasantotsava*, *vasantamahotsava* or *vasantasamayotsava* as below in v. 21 *vasantasamayussava*.

Now King Kittisirimegha learned through messengers who 18
came from Rohaṇa that his brother named Sirivallabha who
dwelt in Rohaṇa, was dead and that Sirivallabha's son Mā- 19
nābharāṇa by name, had taken over the government and had
made Mittā his queen¹. He overcame the grief heavy to be 20
borne caused by his brother's death through hearing the 21
news of the birth of a son to Mittā. But he gave up the
spring festival and returned, leaving the Senāpati named 22
Saṅkha behind on the spot, with his son to the town of
Saṅkhatthali². While the Monarch lived there happily with 23
Prince Parakkama a year passed. The second queen of the 24
Monarch Mānābharāṇa, Pabhāvatī³, likewise bore a son, named
Kittisirimegha. When Kittisirimegha heard that he thought: 25
our line has become great, and felt still happier.

The Prince (Parakkamabāhu) urged by his great, incom- 26
parable merit by whose virtue alone he was destined for the
dominion over Laṅkā, valued not so much as grass the love 27
shown him by his father as by a good friend, and his great
tenderness, as well as the services of his many retainers per- 28
formed for him from fear and devotion⁴. And in his zeal 29
to (unite and thereby) make Laṅkā happy under one um-
brella as speedily as possible, he thought to himself thus:
"Since it has ever been the home of the hair, collar-bone, 30
neck-bone, tooth and alms-bowl relics⁵ as well as of the

¹ See 63. 6 ff. *Devīyā Mittāya paṭilābham Sirivallabhasūnuno* does not mean, as translated by W. "a birth of a son, Siri Vallabha, to the Queen Mittā".

² See note to 63. 43. *Nivattitvāna* must be understood as gerund of the caus. *nivatteti*, oṇe MS. even reading *-ttetvāna*. Parakkama's Upanayana festival had taken place in Badalatthali. There Kittisirimegha receives the various news from Rohaṇa. He leaves the general Saṅkha, who had to prepare the festival, behind in that place (*tatth'eva*) and betakes himself with his nephew to the capital, Saṅkhatthali.

³ We see from this that Sirivallabha's son had married both the sisters of Parakkamabāhu, Mittā and Pabhāvatī.

⁴ Lit.: whereby fear and devotion went before, i. e. were the motive. W's translation is inexact.

⁵ The hair relic (*kesadhātu*) was (Mhvs. 39. 49) brought to Ceylon by

token of the footprint of the Master and of his sacred Bodhi
 31 Tree branch, further of the eighty-four thousand sections of
 the doctrine which give a picture of the Perfectly Enlighte-
 32 ned one, and as it is a mine of gems, pearls and many other
 treasures, this island although not so large, has always coun-
 33 ted for something special. My three fathers, the Monarchs,
 and also my mother's brother¹ were not able to unite it
 34 under one umbrella. They divided it therefore and with the
 thought: if we only rule it to this extent we have done our
 duty, each in his province renouncing the desire customary
 35 in our family for the royal consecration, carried on the go-
 vernment like village chiefs whose one aim is their farming
 36 and the like. Of these save my father's brother, Kittisiri-
 megga, the three remaining monarchs have passed away in
 37 accordance with their deeds. Man's longest span of life is
 now alas, but meagre; boy, youth, greybeard, all these living
 38 beings will one after another suffer death, so fixed a rule as
 39 this there is otherwise nowhere else in this world. Therefore
 must sons of kings such as I am, take no heed of this
 frail, worthless body which is despised by all whose eyes
 40 are fixed on what is precious, and must ever pay heed to
 that which is worthy of aspiration and is abiding, namely
 41 fame². (I hear³) in tales as in the Ummaggajātaka⁴ and

Silākāla under Moggallāna I. The relic of the neck bone (*givaṭṭhi*) was according to the legend, brought by Sarabhu to Mahiyaṅgaṇa immediately after the death of the Buddha (Mhvs. 1. 37), the alms-bowl (*paṭṭa*) by Sumana from Pāṭaliputta (Pupphapura) to Anurādhapura in the reign of Devānappiyatissa. Sumana is also said to have fetched the relic of the (right) collar bone (*akkhaka*) from Indra's Heaven (Mhvs. 17. 14 ff., 20). For the tooth relic (*dāṭhādāhātu*) see above 37. 92 ff.

¹ The three fathers are the father Mānābharaṇa and his two brothers. The brother of his mother (Ratanāvalī) is Vikkamabāhu II.

² Lit.: "to that body of fame which is worthy of aspiration" (*pihaniyye yasodehe*).

³ Verses 41-47 form one sentence. The accus. *caritaṃ* in 41, *vikkamam* in 42 etc. up to *suladdhaṃ jivitaṃ* in 47 are all governed by *sutvā* in v. 45. The verse 46 is a parenthesis.

⁴ Mahāummaggajātaka, no. 546 in FAUSBÖLL's edition of the Jātakas (VI. 329 ff.).

others, of deeds done by the Bodhisatta in the different stages of his development¹, the outcome of his heroic nature and of other qualities. (I hear) in secular stories, in the 42 Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhārata and the like of the courage of Rāma who slew Rāvaṇa and of the extraordinary deeds of heroism 43 performed in battle by the five sons of Paṇḍu, how they slew Duryodhana² and the other kings. (I hear) in the 44 Itihāsa³ tales of the wonders worked from of old by princes like Dussanta⁴ and others in combat with gods and demons. — (I hear) of the great wisdom of Cāṇakka⁵, that best of Brāh- 45 maṇas who uprooted the kings of the Nanda dynasty. — All 46 these deeds though they belong not to our time, have attained among the people up to the present day, the highest renown. — When I hear such a happy and incomparable life of those 47 who are able on earth to accomplish extraordinary deeds, then if I, sprung of a noble stock, do not that which befits 48 the best among noble heroes, my birth will be useless. These 49 were aided alone by favourable conditions of the time, but were they superior to me in insight and other qualities?" After he had thus reflected he thought further: "My father, 50 the King, is now on the last stage of life; if now this my father's kingdom comes to me, but in consequence of the 51 enervation of my spirit under the influence of royal pleasures, I am not so successful as I wish, my harm will be the greater. But if I now staying here on the spot, send out my scouts 52

¹ P. *bhūmisu*. For the ten "stages" or "steps" of the Bodhisatta see SENART, *Le Mahāvastu* I., p. 77 ff., 436.

² *Duryodhana*, skr. *Duryodhana*, the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the chief of the Kurus who was vanquished and slain in the great battle on the Kuru field by the five Paṇḍu brothers Yudhiṣṭhira etc. Duryodhana fell on the last day of the battle by the hand of Bhīma.

³ *Itihāsa* is the collective name for all the literature of historical narrative based on tradition. Knowledge of the Itihāsa is part of Brahmanical education. Cf. D. I, p. 88 (= III. 1. 3), M. II, p. 133 (= 91).

⁴ Skr. *Duṣyanta*, the husband of Śakuntalā, a king of the Moon dynasty.

⁵ Skr. *Cāṇakya*. See note to 64. 3, as also LASSEN, *Indische Altertumskunde*² II, p. 212 ff.

and let them find out how conditions really are in the other
 53 country, — my scouts might be in a position to discover a
 weakness among my enemies favourable to my plans, or not¹ —
 54 all the people here will describe² the strength of the foe to
 55 me in all possible ways. (They will say:) 'For the three
 Monarchs, thy fathers, of whom each was lord of a province,
 56 although united they undertook war seven times, it was dif-
 ficult to conquer the kingdom. How then shall a solitary
 youth who merely rules a small province, take possession
 57 of it? But it is easy to govern over the original province:
 58 therefore thou must give up thy baneful project'. With such
 words — boring glowing rods into my ears — they will
 describe again and again, in every possible way, the great-
 59 ness of the other country. But one should really refuse to
 believe all this tattle of fools who speak without knowing
 60 the real state of affairs. So under some kind of pretext I
 shall myself go to the other country and find out its con-
 61 ditions. But my father the Monarch, if he hears of these
 plans, through fear that some evil may befall his noble son,
 62 the light of his line, if he betakes himself into the country
 of the foe, will, tender-hearted as he is, hinder my departure.
 63 There will then be no fulfilment of my designs. It is there-
 fore best if I go in disguise".

64 When the clever Prince who knew well what (right)
 occasions are, one day at night-time found such an occasion,
 he who was certainly not lacking in resources, left the house
 in such wise that his father knew nought of his departure.

Here ends the sixty-fourth chapter, called "The Departure for the other Country", in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ If we regard v. 53 as a parenthesis, we get rid of all difficulties of language and content. The sense is: nothing is to be gained by spying from here, for whatever the result, the people here will always exaggerate the dangers and in consequence will not join me. They must be encouraged by my lead.

² The pres. *kathayanti* is remarkable. One expects *kathessanti*.

CHAPTER LXV

THE KILLING OF THE SENĀPATI

As the Prince set forth accompanied only by his weapons, 1
there sounded at the same moment in front of him the peal
of a shell trumpet. Hearing it he versed in the divers omens, 2
knew that his plan would shortly succeed and was full of joy. 3
Without the watchmen placed at different points noticing it, he
got out of the town free from fear, lion-hearted. In haste he 4
covered a distance of five *gāvutas*¹ and reached in a region
not far from Badalatthalagāma² a village called Pilimvatthu. 5
It had been fixed as goal for the meeting together of his
people, to halt here before his own arrival, awaiting 6
him on the way. Now when he saw that of those who
had received orders only some had appeared on the spot, the 7
Prince asked why so few had come. But they answered:
„Why doth our Lord speak so, though he knows the whole 8
demeanour of the people. With whom is there no fear of
death? Our Lord is at an age immediately following that of 9
boyhood, even to-day the odour of milk plays about his lips.
There is no separate fortune acquired by thee, nor is there 10
any other accumulation of resources save these present. Ex- 11
cept for ourselves whose character has long been tested and
whose devotion is firmly rooted, who otherwise would follow
thee? And what thy father the Sovereign, will do with us 12
who have come hither, no man knows. In our path there is 13
still the Senāpati Saṅkha by name, a great and mighty hero
who has his abode on the frontier, apart from other foes, 14

¹ A *gāvuta* (skr. *gavyūti*) is a quarter of a *yojana* (DhCo. II. 13⁴),
thus about two miles. PTS. P. D. s. v.

² See note to 58. 43; 64. 43.

and we few people are made one by the other ever more
 15 terror-stricken. And the time of daybreak is now close at
 hand". Thus each for himself made known the fear that
 16 dwelt in their hearts. When the Prince heard their words
 he smiled kindly, looked them fearlessly in the face and spake:
 17 "Although all these people here who have such fear, have
 lived together with me a long time, yet have they not
 18 learnt to know me", and to chase away the fear that had
 risen in them, the lion-hearted let sound¹ a mighty lion's
 19 roar. "Leave all men aside; when I have my weapons in my
 hand, what can Sakka, the King of the gods, do even if he
 20 is enraged? Because ye thought I am a boy these foolish
 thoughts have come to you. Have ye not heard that one
 21 looks up to splendid might, not to age? But if ye fear my
 father's army will pursue me, then will I — by a single deed
 22 that I have devised to carry out and in such a way that the
 people in my own and in the other country shall offer me
 23 fear and devotion and ye shall rid yourselves of this your
 terror — at once, as soon as this night is past, manifest my
 24 pre-eminent insight, determination and courage. Go forward!"
 With these words the hero seized his weapons, left that vil-
 25 lage full of determination and like to a second image of the
 sun risen in the western heavens to surpass the sun disk
 26 standing on the summit of the eastern mountain, he lighted
 up the lotus thicket of the eyes of his attendants and came
 at early morn to Badalatthali.

¹ It is interesting here to note the fundamental difference between the narrative of the *Cūlavamsa* and that of the older *Mahāvamsa* and between the ideas of their authors as shown particularly in the comparison of the personalities of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Parakkamabāhu. In the one case deeds of true heroism, culminating in the dauntless duel with Elāra, in the other big, high-sounding words as prelude to an action of very doubtful courage and of still more doubtful moral justification. It is therefore significant that in Ceylon, more especially in Rohana, one meets again and again with traditions connected with Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. He is the real national hero of the Sinhalese and his name still lives in the popular memory. Parakkamabāhu is almost forgotten though he is nearer by more than a thousand years to the present than the other.

By the peal of the victorious trumpets the Senāpati (Saṅkha) 27 awoke. With consternation¹ he perceived that the Prince had come. Accompanied by a great host he went forth to meet 28 him and full of reverence, bowed himself to the earth to offer the customary homage. When with the thought: what may 29 not this man do to us if he remains alive? he must be slain on the spot, the soldiers looked at their leader, but he checked 30 them with a sign, for he thought: it is unworthy of a man to kill anyone against whom no guilt can be proven, only in case of hostile demeanour is the death penalty permitted. The lion-like (Prince) took the hand of the Senāpati, spake 31 friendly words to him and entered his abode. The Senāpati 32 thought: "The Prince's departure must have taken place without the King's knowing of it. Until I learn the state of affairs these people who have come with him, must be each 33 separately housed so that they may not remain in communication with him, the Prince however, must dwell in my house". He did so, and in order to dupe the discerning (prince), he 34 paid him the honours due to a guest and sent messengers to the King. Now when the Prince perceived the deception 35 practised by Saṅkha he thought: "If now without doing what must be done, I remain inactive, of a truth my plan will 36 come to nought: this man must needs now be slain". He gave 37 one of his attendants the order to strike down² the Senāpati. A great tumult arose: the Senāpati is slain. A soldier of the 38 Senāpati hearing that the general had been murdered, cried: For what reason did the murder of my Lord take place? and 39 sword in hand, risking his own life for his Lord, he rushed at the Prince standing there alone. But when he glanced at 40 the Prince's countenance, trembling with fear, he could not stand upright and flung himself at his feet. Before the Prince 41 could say the words: "Seize him", one of the soldier's com-

¹ P. *saṃjātasaṃbhamo*. Not translated by W.

² As it is described here, the murder of Saṅkha who was a loyal and devoted adherent of the royal house, is an act as brutal as it is senseless. Probably the whole episode is in this form unhistorical. See Introduction I.

42 panions himself struck him down. "The deed he has done
without my orders is unseemly", with these words the Prince
43 had him punished accordingly. But the terrible excitement
which had arisen at the same time, the Prince stilled by the
mere wrinkling of the brows.

44 The hero whose greatest wealth was fame, the Prince of
firm character, who well understood the rewarding of his
heroes, whose most precious treasure was his famous name,
left his soldiers to take all what they would of the abundant
property amassed by the Senāpati.

Here ends the sixty-fifth chapter, called "The Slaying of
the Senāpati", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy
and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE SPYING OUT OF THE CONDITIONS IN THE
OTHER COUNTRY

“If I were to set forth to-day to carry out my plan, 1
 these people would think: the Prince has left through fear.
 I will stay here and see what my father does as long as he has not 2
 heard that I am staying here after the slaying of the Senāpati”.
 With such reflections the hero, the best of all far-seeing men, 3
 sojourned a few days on the spot. The soldiers of the Senā- 4
 pati and many people who dwelt in the province, who in con-
 sequence of the slaying of the Senāpati, were seized with 5
 terror were not able to remain each in his place, but sought
 out the Prince, streaming together from all sides. “Acting in 6
 opposition to his father the Prince has slain the Senāpati”,
 thought the inhabitants of the province. “If powerful people 7
 like ourselves, whose devotion is deep-rooted, are his slaves¹
 what then is impossible for our Lord? If the (lawful) Lord 8
 is in life, how dare thy uncle under the pretext, the prince
 is still a boy, hold sway in the kingdom belonging to thy
 father? We will join together, march on the town of Sañ- 9
 khatthali and fetch hither by force the king together with
 his treasure and his harem”. With this firm resolve and bent 10
 solely on the gaining of the dominion, they betook themselves
 to the place Padavārasuññakaṇḍa by name. The Prince sent 11
 some of his people thither, summoned the leaders of the sol-
 diers to him (and spake to them): “Ye must not think that 12

¹ I read with the MSS. *dāsesu*. S 2 alone differs, for *dam̐sesu* in S 3, 7 is only a variant in the writing. The *dakkhesu* adopted by S. and B. is an unnecessary alteration.

the slaying of the Senāpati by me took place out of enmity
 13 to my father; away then with your agitation¹! I have in no
 wise come hither in enmity to my royal father, nor do I mean
 14 to bring this part of the province into my power. For sons
 such as I am is there not but one thing to do — to cause little
 15 sorrow themselves to their aged fathers and to ward off the
 evil which may be done them by another and so ever to serve
 16 them with devotion. Why have ye such thoughts?" Therewith
 the prudent one removed their scruples and reflecting on his
 17 further course, came to this decision: "If I sojourn here some
 days, illmeaning people will try to sow discord between us
 18 twain, father and son. Without lingering here I must arise
 and busy myself with the carrying out of my former plans".
 19 Therewith the Prince left the village of Badalatthalī to
 betake himself to Buddhagāma near the Siridevī mountain.
 20 Before he reached the village of Siriyāla² the inhabitants³
 21 who had banded together, fled on every side. Accompanied
 alone by his own followers, the heroic prince now advanced
 22 well armed along the highway. "Now if we quietly suffer
 the prince to escape after his having slain the Senāpati, what

¹ W. translates "ill-will towards me". That is, I believe, wrong. The context is rather this: the people have taken the killing of Saṅkha as a sign that the prince is in open rebellion against his uncle. They take his side and civil war threatens. To hinder this, Parakkamabāhu explains to the people that there is no enmity between himself and his uncle, and exhorts them to keep quiet.

² The topographical problems have been most satisfactorily solved by CODRINGTON (I. 66). Following Mr. STOREY, he identifies Buddhagāma (see note 58. 43) with Menikdena, S. S. W. of Dambul, since an inscription was found there in which a Budgam-vehera is mentioned (ASC. 1908 = VI. 1913, p. 14 f.). Near there is a mountain Nikula which, according to FORBES, was formerly called "Heereedevatai", that is, Siridevī. Before Parakkamabāhu got there he passed Siriyāla. That is without doubt the present Hiriyaalgama in the Gantihe Korale, which gives its name to the Hiriya district north of Kurunegala.

³ While the inhabitants of the Badalatthalī district were not disinclined to support the Prince against his uncle, those of Siriyāla and later, to a greater extent, those of Buddhagāma showed themselves hostile, even inclined to capture him and give him up to the King.

kind of loyalty would that be on our part to the King who gives us our daily bread?" So thought certain traitors, conceived the plan of capturing him and pursued him from behind while he was on the march. Without being in the least afraid of them, the Prince fought them sword in hand and scattered them in flight. Together with his followers among whom no falling off was noticeable¹, the discerning Prince, free of all danger, reached Buddhagāma. When a few days of his sojourn there had passed, the inhabitants assembled together to capture the Prince. Raining a furious, uninterupted shower of arrows, they surrounded the village full of zeal to begin the fight. "We must give up our lives if he benefits thereby" thought the soldiers who had come with him and, flurried by fear all, save the umbrella-bearer and the sword-bearer of the Prince, fled on every side before the Prince's eyes. When he saw his soldiers fleeing, he smiled a little and having now found an opportunity of showing his extraordinary courage, the Prince thought: „With my weapon even will I strike terror into the foe and scatter him in flight", and cried with vehemence: "Give me my sword!" When the soldiers who had at first fled, heard along with these loud and resoundingly spoken words, the blare of the victorious trumpets penetrating the circle of the firmament, and when they saw the struck off heads of the foe, falling to the ground, they turned and fighting, scattered the troops some thousands in number in flight, surrounded the Prince and praised his courage.

While now the Prince sojourned there he desired to have the nagaragiri² of King Gajabāhu, Gokaṇṇa³, who had the control of Kālavāpi, in his presence, to find out his views.

¹ P. *aditṭhāparihāṇike*, quite ignored in W's translation. It must however be emphasised that not one of the original followers of the Prince had deserted him.

² The title *nagaragiri* is met with here for the first time (cf. also 66. 62 and 70. 68). See Introduction III.

³ *Gokaṇṇa* is probably a clan name (see above 38. 13, note); skr. *gokarna*, P. *gokaṇṇa* denotes a species of stag, an elk.

He sent therefore, one of his henchmen to him with a letter.
 37 When the latter saw the missive he nodded consent, read it
 38 and learned from it of all that had taken place. Believing
 that the superiority of the Prince's forces made disobedience
 39 to his commands an impossibility and without waiting for
 news as to the opinion¹ of his own Monarch, he came to
 40 Buddhagāma and sought out the Prince with reverence. "Thou
 hast heard how I have come hither away from my father the
 King, how I have caused the violent death of the mighty
 41 Senāpati, and how I have performed marvellous deeds of he-
 42 roism against the foe following in my rear. Without even
 a thought that thou shouldst learn the opinion of thine own
 king, while before the sending of my messenger no connec-
 43 tion (between us) existed, thou (nevertheless) settest out to
 see me the moment thou didst see my letter; thou hast done
 44 well," with these words the Prince full of joy, presented him
 with all the ornaments he had himself worn, consisting of divers
 45 precious stones, along with an excellent elephant. To the
 leaders among his soldiers he gave valuable ornaments of
 46 divers kinds, such as costly earrings and the like. Hereupon
 he dismissed the chief (Gokaṇṇa) with his soldiers that they
 might rest, having shown himself friendly to them by the
 assigning of dwellings, food and the like.

47 Arrived in his quarters for the night, Gokaṇṇa beheld
 himself in a dream in the form² of the Senāpati who had
 48 been murdered at the Prince's command, surrounded on all
 sides by robbers with swords in their hands to kill him. In
 49 mortal terror he gave a shriek and fell from his bed to the
 50 ground, and without heed for the people who bore his sword, his
 umbrella and the like, he left the whole of the force which
 had come with him in the lurch. But as he could not even
 51 find his way by the heavens, he got into a great forest and
 losing the path, wandered about in it. Only at daybreak did

¹ P. *bhāva* (the same in v. 42) in reality "kind, character", then "attitude towards something, conception".

² Thus I explain the *viya*: he saw himself (*attānaṃ*) as the Senāpati.

he find the road leading to Kālavāpi, followed it in haste 52
and reached his village. His men too, when they heard of
the flight of their lord, seeing no other escape, smitten with 53
the greatest terror, left each of them his¹ weapons behind and
wandered like their master bewildered about the forest, reaching 54
Kālavāpi in haste at break of day. When the Prince heard 55
the story of the flight he smiled and remained there (in
Buddhagāma) a few days longer. And from that time this 56
story was for him who appreciated humorous tales², a means
in moments when he was downhearted, of chasing away his
depression.

When Kittisirimegha heard of all these events he sum- 57
moned his great dignitaries together and took counsel with
them: "The Prince has escaped in disguise from our well 58
protected town, looked after by officials and filled with soldiers.
Thereupon together with certain villainous and undutiful people 59
who went with him from here³, he has fled, has slain the 60
mightiest vassal in my kingdom, the Senāpati, has seized the
whole of the costly property accumulated by him, has then in
his flight slain here and there many soldiers among the country 61
folk who pursued him, has summoned to him the nagaragiri 62
Gokaṇṇa of King Gajabāhu⁴ and has brought him under his
influence and now sojourns in Buddhagāma⁵. This is no time 63
to look on inactively. If the foe in this threatening situation⁶

¹ Note the free treatment of the gender in *āyudhāni* . . . sake sake.

² P. *nānābhassarasa*, lit. "for the many kinds of tastes in narratives". One might read *nānābhassarasa*: *hassa* = skr. *hāsyā* is the cheerful laughter-rousing fundamental character (*rasa*) of a literary work.

³ The MS. reading *te tato* in 59 b is disturbing. It is difficult to place *te* in the construction of the sentence and *tato* stands already at the beginning of the verse. I propose reading *ten' ato*: *tena* is comitative "with him" and *ato* means "from here" that is from Saṅkhatthali.

⁴ The same wording as in v. 35 c b.

⁵ The present part. *vasaṇ* stands here again instead of a finite verb to express a permanent state. Cf. note to 41. 89.

⁶ P. *asmim chuddamhi*, lit. "at this break" (= weakness, want), or possibly in the original meaning "at this moment where a division (an estrangement between me and my nephew) has taken place".

64 make a treacherous treaty with the Prince who is favoured
 by fortune and gifted with insight and courage, and think
 65 to begin war, that will be for us a great misfortune. Before
 he can think out other worse plans he must be seized during
 66 his stay in that village". Thus resolved, he summoned the two
 Adhikārins¹, Sena and Mahinda by name, further Maṅgalāna,
 67 the son of a royal servant², as well as other retainers and
 sent them forth with the words: "Take with you all people
 68 in my kingdom who live by soldiering, go forth in haste
 69 and bring the Prince hither by force". These took each his
 great army and with powerful forces divided into ten columns
 70 they approached Siriyāla. When the Prince heard thereof
 he thought: "I will take up my position at a spot difficult
 to pass³, in such a way as to force the troops which are
 marching separately in ten columns, to join each other and then
 71 I shall immediately destroy them". The hero betook himself
 in haste from Buddhagāma to Saraggāma⁴ in the district of
 72 Mahātīla. The officers (of Kittisirimegha) thought however:
 „if the Prince flees from Buddhagāma and withdraws into an
 73 impassible region surrounded by mountains, his capture will
 be difficult, whatever means one uses", and marched united
 74 thither. When the Prince heard that he rejoiced at the success
 of his plan. In front he left space for the advancing army,
 75 placed his numerous men on both sides of the road, hidden, well

¹ From 70. 278 it is clear that *adhikārin* denotes a certain office or a certain rank. See Introduction III.

² W. seems here to adopt the reading *mahālānaṃ* of the Col. Ed. which however has no support from the MSS. and translates "the mahālāna" — with the note "chief secretary" (?) — Devapādamūla Dāraka". The word *pādamūla* or *-lika* with the meaning of "servant" occurs frequently in the Jātakas (PTS. P. D. s. v, also DhCo. I. 183⁴).

³ Not "at such a stronghold" as W. translates. It is a case of a narrow pass in the mountains.

⁴ Saraggāma has certainly nothing to do with Sarogāmatittha on the Mahāvālukagaṅgā (71. 18; 72. 1, 31). CODRINGTON identifies it, following STORER, with Selagama in the District Matale, Asgiri Pallesiya Pattuva (Census of C., 1921, II., p. 94). Instead of "from Buddhagāma" the text has simply *tato* "from there", the same in v. 72.

armed, such as were deemed especially brave. Then when 76
 the mighty one saw that the whole of the hostile force had
 advanced to the centre, he experienced in the art of war,
 had numbers of soldiers cut down. Those who remained over 77
 from the slaughter threw their weapons away as the case
 might be and fled, with no thought of renewing the fight,
 on all sides. The victorious Prince left the place thereupon 78
 and betook himself to Bodhigāmapara¹ there to await his father's
 decisions². Sojourning there the hero spent several days and 79
 after scattering in that same place a (further) army which
 came forth to fight at the command of his father the King, 80
 he retired from thence and betook himself to the village of
 Ranambura in the region of the Laṅkā mountains³. To 81
 remove the footsoreness of his soldiers the intrepid one
 spent several days sojourning there. Then he reflected thus: 82
 "Although my foes have all been repeatedly crushed by me
 in battle, they will not retire out of fear of my father, gi-
 ving up the hope (of success) in fight. Because their evil 83
 counsellors have wrongly thought: this Prince falls not into
 our power only because he is in inaccessible country, there- 84
 fore I shall now betake myself to the spot where they are
 sojourning and drive away their evil thoughts". He advanced 85

¹ W. translates "returned to the village Bodhigāma. He thus obviously considers Bodhigāmapara to be the same as Buddhagāma. But the text has not *paccagā* "he returned", but *agā* "he went". CODRINGTON (I. 69) regards Bodhigāmapara as the present Bogambara in the Matale Pallesiya Pattuva (N. E. of Matale). The prince thus stayed near the battlefield to await the development of events.

² *P. putucittāmurakkhattham*. W's translation "that he might calm the anxiety of his father" is wrong. All Parakkamabāhu's actions have the character of open enmity and are opposed to the fiction of the compiler that no conflict had taken place between uncle and nephew.

³ The Prince withdrew from Bodhigāmapara further E. or N. E. There is no doubt that the name Laṅkāpabbata or Laṅkāgiri (thus 70. 88, mentioned again in connection with Bodhigāmapara) is preserved in the present Laggala, the name of a district between Matale Pallesiya Pattuva and the Mahaveliganga. It is also advisable to read instead of the *Ratamburaṇa* of the Col. Ed., *Ranamburam* in which CODRINGTON recognises the present Ranamure in Laggala Udasiya Pattuva.

to the village of Khīravāpi occupied by their army and
 86 reached the district called Ambavana¹. He occupied it and
 having found out himself from the people there the exact
 route to march against the foe², he set out in the evening
 87 and reached the village at night. When his soldiers reached
 the enclosure consisting of terrible briers full of prickles from
 top to bottom³, they stayed without, being unable to pene-
 88 trate it. The hero placed himself at the head, broke fearlessly
 through the fence, and standing in the middle of the village
 89 called out his name. The enemy who had already witnessed
 the marvellous courage of the Prince, were seized with terror
 90 when they heard his resounding voice and all (of them)
 without even thinking of clothes or weapons, fled on all
 91 sides, like gazelles that have caught sight of a lion. His
 soldiers who had entered by the way he had forced, slew
 whomsoever they caught sight of, and set fire to the village.
 92 The Prince immediately marched to the village of Nāvāgirisa
 and resting there awaited the dawn.

93 The dignitaries of his father, the King, now assembled
 and spoke with each other of the great energy (of the Prince)
 94 in the various battles: "With our plan of capturing the Prince
 quickly with our forces of so many thousand men, we have
 95 brought ruin on our own army, and since they have everywhere
 fled in fight, we have only caused the Prince's fame to become
 96 more widely known. But if we disregard the terrible com-
 mand sent us repeatedly by the King, then the life of our
 97 kinsfolk is at stake⁴. It is not meet that we spend our time
 here without taking pains to carry out the King's command
 98 by every possible means. Even at the cost of our lives we

¹ The name is preserved in that of the Ambanganga (Coddington) which flows through the valley of Matale and turns eastward at Nalanda towards the Mahaveliganga.

² P. *etehi* refers to the inhabitants of Ambavana, *tesaṃ* to the enemy; *samcāra* means the possibility of approaching the enemy.

³ So I understand *tikkhaggapada* "where the top part (*agga*) and the foot end (*pada*) are sharp".

⁴ They are hostages in the hands of the king.

must satisfy the Lord who gives us our living, and thereby ensure the protection of our kindred". Therewith full of 99 defiant courage, with large, well armed forces, they set forth like the army of Māra on a road shown them by scouts. From four sides they forced their way into the village and 100 surrounded the Prince's house. As the hilly region was cool, 101 the latter had donned a red woollen shawl and sat there playing a game to which he was accustomed from his childhood. From the noise he noticed that the foe was quite 102 near, but since he saw not one of his own followers, he at once bound his topknot fast, wrapped himself tightly in the 103 woollen shawl he had been wearing, and terrible, sword in hand, he plunged like a savage lion into the middle of the 104 fight and in a moment chased the whole of the enemy to the world's end¹. Then after raising his voice and calling 105 together his own people who had come with him and who terrorized by the clamour, had fled into the wilderness, he reflected: "The fear which must beset the King of the hostile 106 party² when he thinks what may be the cause of my leaving the King my father and coming hither — all that I have hitherto 107 done, beginning with the slaying of the Senāpati³, suffices to remove it. I must now betake myself to the other country". Therewith he set forth thence and at the place Porogāhāli- 108 khaṇḍa⁴ he cleansed by the pouring over with water the blood stains⁵ from sword and hand⁶, laid aside the blood- 109

¹ Lit.: "he made the enemy (*dise*) into such as turned themselves to the end of the firmament (*disānta*)".

² I. e. Gajabāhu.

³ The train of thought is this: It is intelligible that Gajabāhu should regard my coming with distrust. He may fear that I intend evil towards him. But all my actions so far have been directed not against him but against my father. This should allay his fears so that I can now enter his country without danger.

⁴ I prefer to read *°gāhāli°* (instead of *°gāhāli°*) because the name seems to me to contain the word *ālī* "canal" (Sinh. *ālā*) *Khaṇḍa* means "district", a narrower area than *raṭṭha* or *maṇḍala*.

⁵ Lit. "the union with the red blood".

⁶ Or perhaps "from the sword hand", from the hand which had wielded the sword.

soiled mantle that he had worn and enjoyed after a change
 110 of garment a comfortable rest. He then crossed the frontier
 of the province of his royal father and reached in the realm
 111 of Gajabāhu the small place called Janapada¹. With all kinds
 of sportive games, such as were customary in the country,
 he spent several days, sojourning there.

112 Now when Gajabāhu heard from the mouth of his watch-
 men of the gradual approach of the Prince he was seized
 113 with great alarm. He spoke with his councillors and after
 determining what was to be done, he sent him a gift of
 114 raiment, ornaments and the like. To his envoys he gave this
 message²: "Since hearing of thy leaving my uncle³, the King,
 and of the wonderful deeds of courage which thou hast
 115 performed on the way and that thou instead of applying
 elsewhere⁴, hast entered my realm, my heart has become
 116 narrow through expanding joy. Besides myself what kindred
 hast thou who would be ready to serve thee⁵. A coronation
 117 festival truly is thy visit for me. Since my uncle, the King, in
 his old age does not hold such a jewel of a son as his most
 118 precious possession and by some imprudent attitude has let
 him come into my hands, that means for me the reward in
 119 full for a highly meritorious action. If we twain are now for
 120 ever united, what foe will dare to make war on us? My splendour
 will now in every respect become great, even as that of the
 121 fire when it has gained the storm wind as its ally. Once we

¹ Janapada is often mentioned as borderland of Rājaraṭṭha towards Dakkhinadesa. Cf. 67. 22; 70. 87. It is probably to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the present Vagapanaha, Udasiya Pattuva, east of Dambul.

² Cf. v. 122: *iti vatvāna* etc.

³ Kittisirimegha was married to Lokanāthā, the sister of Gajabāhu's father Vikkamabāhu, according to 59. 44.

⁴ With the majority of the MSS. we must read here *āgantvā 'ññattha*. If with the Col. Ed. we read *āgantvā* (thus only in MS. S 6) *aññattha* remains unintelligible, for the meaning is not "somewhere or other" (W. "into a place"), but "somewhere else".

⁵ P. *vassabandhace*. I take *vassa* = Skr. *vaśya* as "tractable, obedient" W. has "kinsfolk . . . on your mother's side".

have met each other, I shall have no difficulty in conferring on the prince the royal dignity which belonged to his father. Meanwhile thou must without loss of time carry out thy visit 122 to me". With this message he dismissed his envoys. When 123 the Prince whose intelligence was well capable of discrimination (between the true and the false) heard this news from the envoys, he thought: "It is ever very hard to see through the craftiness of princes; I will test him and then set off", 124 and he sent together with the envoys, a warrior Nimmala by name, versed in all expedients. After learning (through him) 125 the true character of the king as well as that of all his advisers, the Prince advanced further towards Pulatthinagara.

Thereupon King Gajabāhu advanced to meet him at the 126 head of a great army, showed him in joyful zeal many favours, let the Prince mount the elephant on which he himself 127 was riding, showed him the beauty of the town and betook himself (with him) to the royal palace. The Prince 128 made known his joy called forth by the seeing Gajabāhu and after spending some days there he in order to become ac- 129 quainted with those of the King's people dwelling in the outlying districts who were for him and against him¹, sought 130 out such as understood all kinds of tricks and knew the dialect of the various regions and who were distinguished by devotion to their Lord. Of these he being versed in the 131 methods to be applied, made those who understood the mixing of poisons², adopt the garb of the snake charmer. Others 132 skilled in telling of the lines of the hand and other marks

¹ The work of espionage now begins. That the compiler was influenced by the reading of text books on *nīti*, as for instance, Kautilya's Arthasāstra (I. 11, 7 ff.) is unmistakable. The *sānurāgā* and *sāparāgā* of our passage correspond to the *akṛtyā* and *kṛtyā* of K. I. 13-15, the faithful who cannot be influenced and the unfaithful whom one can win over to oneself. Cf. Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. R. SHAMA SASTRI, p. 22 ff.; Kautilya's Arthasāstra trsl. by R. SHAMASASTRY p. 26 ff.; Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben, das Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya, übers. von J. J. MEYER, p. 24 ff.

² P. *visavijāsu kovide* corresponding to the *rasadāh* of Kautilya I. 11. Cf. also with this the *rasakriyābhīnā* below in v. 138.

on the body¹ he had disguised as wandering musicians, as
 133 caṇḍālas and as brāhmaṇas. Amongst the many Damiḷas and
 others he made such as were practised in dance and song²,
 appear as people who played with leather dolls and the like.
 134 Others again after they had laid aside their own garb, he ordered
 to go round³ selling goods such as rings and bracelets of glass and
 135 the like. Others again he sent forth with the command that they
 should go in the garb of ascetics⁴, with the equipment of such,
 136 the umbrella, the beggar's staff and the like, wandering like
 unto pious pilgrims from village to village and thereby
 137 performing their devotions in front of the cetiyas. People
 versed in the art of healing he commanded to seek out vil-
 lages and market towns and there to practise the healing
 138 art⁵. Such as understood the instruction of boys in the art
 of writing and in the handling of weapons, who were skilled
 in the preparation of magic potions and versed in spirit in-
 139 cantation as well as craftsmen possessed of skill in the work-
 ing of gold and the like he ordered to move from place to
 140 place, practising their profession. In order to find out him-
 self the actual conditions as these existed amongst the in-
 habitants of the inner district (of the town), he by showing a
 141 great innocence founded on his youth, learned amongst the
 people who came to him under the pretext of entertainment
 142 and who dwelt on the weakness of the King, to distinguish
 amongst the highest officials, officers and soldiers those who were
 ambitious, those who nursed a grudge, those who were afraid

¹ According to the Kauṭaliya I. 12, the knowledge of the *lakṣaṇa* and of the *aṅgavidyā* belongs to the equipment of a particular kind of spy. These are the so-called *sattriṇaḥ saṃsargavidyāḥ*.

² The *naṭa-nartaka-gāyana-vādaka-vāḡjivana-kuślavāḥ* of the Kauṭaliya (I. 12).

³ In the Kauṭaliya (I. 11) the *vaidehakavyaṇjanaḥ*, the spy disguised as trader. Peddling with bracelets of glass and similar trinkets is common in the villages of Ceylon at the present day.

⁴ Kauṭaliya I. 11 deals with the *tāpasa* as spy (*muṇḍo vā jaṭilo vā vṛttikāmastāpasavyaṇjanaḥ*).

⁵ The strolling quack is missing in the Kauṭaliya, as well as the strolling schoolmaster and the strolling craftsman.

and those who were avaricious¹. He took care² too, that 143
spies who were versed in the divers rites and ceremonies³ in
use in the various schools and who knew the tales from the
Itihāsas, Puāṇas and many other books, should visit the dif- 144
ferent houses in the assumed garb of samaṇas. As soon then
as confidence in them had been established, and when they
had found trust and reverence, they came forward as (spi- 145
ritual) advisers, estranged the people and brought them under
their influence. Believing that if the King were made un- 146
suspicious, he could then move about as he would, and easily
learn the actual conditions in the interior of the country, he 147
sent a letter to his mother who was dwelling in Rohaṇa,
fetched thence his younger sister, the charming Princess
Bhaddavati, as well as abundant money, under the pretext that 148
it was her property. The money he took to himself but the 149
Princess he wedded to the Lord of men Gajabāhu and so ma-
naged matters that the Ruler completely trusted him even as 150
also the royal family⁴. He used also under the pretence of
sport, to go about the streets with a rutting elephant that

¹ The *Kauṭalīya* I. 14 distinguishes in exactly the same way, four groups amongst those who can be manipulated and won over for one's own schemes. The close relation of our passage to the Arthaśāstra and the allied literature is shown by the fact that the terms are the same in Sanskrit and in Pāli: 1) the *kruddhavargaḥ* = P. *saṃkuddhā*, the group of the indignant, 2) the *bhītavargaḥ* = P. *bhītā*, the group of the fearful, 3) the *lubdhavargaḥ* = P. *luddhā*, the group of the avaricious and, 4) the *māṇvargaḥ* = P. *abhimānino*, the group of the ambitious. The last group is placed first by the *Ūlavam̐sa*. For the whole subject cf. W. GEIGER, *Kenntnis der Indischen Nītiliteratur in Ceylon*, *Festschrift für H. Jacobi* (Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens), p. 418 ff.

² P. *vidhānam tathā kari yathā* . . . in v. 145: "he acted in the way, arranged it so that . . ."

³ P. *upāya-vidhāna*, not "folklore" as translated by W. The *Kauṭalīya* I. 9 uses *upāya* along with *atharvan* in the meaning of "rite, sorcery".

⁴ W's translation is wrong. He has not realised that *tato rājakulam* belongs still to the preceding. The Sinhalese translators S. and B have also overlooked it.

151 had not discharge, and when he was pursued by it would quickly
 flee under the pretext that refuge was difficult to find, into
 the house of people who were to be brought under his in-
 152 fluence. He then gave them fitting money reward, costly
 ornaments and the like and brought them thus imperceptibly
 153 under his influence. All the people down to the lowest grades,
 and the soldiers who dwelt in the town, thought, each for
 154 himself that this courtesy was paid to him. Thereupon he
 ordered his skilled scribes to make an estimate of the King's
 revenues, of his stocks of grain, of his troops, of his various
 155 war material and so on, with the charge: record these by
 stealing into the various departments of the administration¹.
 156 Others he appointed to find out the inmost thoughts of the
 people entrusted with the guarding of the town and (of those)
 157 of the leaders of the army. He himself under the pretext of
 youthful pastimes, roamed about everywhere and thus, avoid-
 ing every peril, explored the conditions in both spheres².
 158 When the wise man realises how all enterprises under-
 taken by beings equipped with a great fulness of meritorious
 deeds accumulated in previous existences, have a successful
 issue, not meeting with any hindering cause, he will cer-
 tainly do good.

Here ends the sixty-sixth chapter, called "The Spying out
 of the Conditions in the other Country", in the Mahāvamsa,
 compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ Lit. "groups of scribes (*lekḥaka*)".

² What is meant is *antomaṇḍalam* the territory inside the town, and
bahimaṇḍalam that outside of the town. Cf. above v. 129, 140.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE FESTIVAL OF THE MAHĀDIPĀDA

Now one day the Prince mounted his chariot and drove, 1
 accompanied by his retainers, along the King's highway. Then 2
 a terrible buffalo broken loose, that killed everyone it saw,
 with rolling bloodshot eyes sprang upon him. When the 3
 charioteer and the people of the retinue saw it dashing on-
 wards, seized with fear they fled in haste. Then the Prince 4
 thought: it is not meet for me to flee like those there, and
 fearless and without excitement, the hero swiftly went for him 5
 and called to him suddenly with loud resounding voice. When 6
 the buffalo heard this, like to a lion's roar, it turned in terror
 and ran away, killing or trampling down everyone it met.
 All who had seen the miracle with their own eyes or had 7
 heard of it broke, full of astonishment, into words of admira-
 tion: "Behold the heroism, behold the courage, behold the 8
 determination, behold his steadfastness, behold the effect of
 his meritorious deeds!"

When the Ruler of men Gajabāhu heard how the people 9
 praised his bravery and his other qualities, he thought: that 10
 is a great man, of terrible courage whose extraordinary might
 cannot be compared with that of others, and he began to be
 afraid of him. Now when the Prince perceived the suspicious 11
 thoughts which had arisen in the King Gajabāhu he reflected
 thus: "If I wish while sojourning here, to achieve the so- 12
 vereignty, I shall without doubt succeed by the mere wrinkling
 of my brows. But in this case my dignity, and my extra- 13
 ordinary courage and the strength of my arms will have no
 renown in the world. And the incessant twitching in my arms 14
 will nevermore cease without the pastime of a war game.

15 There and I will return to the land of my birth, overwhelm
 this king by war and capture him and his retainers alive.
 16 Then when I bring my father Kittisirimegha into this town
 and by the water of the royal coronation which will be poured
 17 on his head, I efface the shame of the defeat of my three
 fathers — then will my fame spread itself also over Jambudīpa.”
 18 Hereupon he found out through hunters a way of approach
 for the army in making an assault on the town and a way
 19 for its retirement, if there should be cause for retreat, as well
 as a way suitable for his own spies, well understanding how
 20 to discriminate between the different ways, while he himself
 under the pretext of the chase, wandered about the forest
 near the town, and distinguished the main roads from the
 bypaths by particular signs.

21 Mindful of the words of the Buddha: if one lets time slip
 away, time drinks up the best¹, he with the intention of be-
 22 taking himself to his own country, then sent away first of
 all his followers having fixed the goal where one should meet,
 23 in the locality of Janapada². But as he thought, that after
 having stayed there so long it was not in keeping with his
 24 manliness, to leave without giving notice thereof, he paid a
 visit in the evening in richly decorated attire, to the King
 25 Gajabāhu. Then when twilight had come when people were
 wont to amuse themselves with divers games, he smiling, with
 26 cheerful mien, spake thus: “I must start even to-day to be-
 take myself to the province of the Yuvarāja, and having paid
 27 a visit to my father, then return hither in haste.” When
 the King heard this, thanks to his naturally defective under-
 28 standing, he thought he had said this with reference to his

¹ Lit.: “In the passing of time time drinks away the sap (*rasa*) thereof”
 That is: a work loses its value if it is not carried out without hesitation.
 This is held to be a *buddhavaco*, like many ancient sayings of wisdom.
 S. and B. have changed the word evidently because it is not to be
 found in the Canon, into *vuddhavaco* “ancient saying” (thus W.) I think
 however, that *vuddha* is only used of age in respect of human life.

² Thus already near the frontier of Dakkhinadesa. See note to
 66. 110.

intention to betake himself to his house¹, and said to him with cheerful smile the favourable words: "May what you have in mind be swiftly fulfilled!"² The chief Brāhmaṇa who stood near the King likewise at the same moment spake a favourable word of happy augury of which it is acknowledged that it aims at the abundant accumulation (of means) for the attainment of an object, for peace and victory and for the destruction of the hostile party. When the Prince heard that, he thought with joy: the present constellation is favourable to my course, and betook himself to his home.

Thereupon the Prince great in virtue and insight, hearing and seeing favourable omens of many kinds, left the house. Running as if in fun after his elephant called Rāmakula, he roamed from street to street and left the town at night. By moonlight wandering thence, he met a man resting at the foot of a tree and asked him who he was. When he heard that he was a wayfarer he spake quickly with raised voice: "Dost thou know me?" The other stood silent from fear. "Ādipāda Parakkamabāhu, so they call me; fear not". With these words he quickly quieted him and won him for himself. He spake to him: "That I met thee here was in truth for me a great gain. Betake thee now in all haste to the camp and tell there thou hast seen Prince Parakkamabāhu on the way into his own country". With that he sent him off hurriedly. Near the Khajjūrakavaḍḍhamāna tank he kept a lookout whether a force were in pursuit of him. As the Prince saw no troop pursuing him, he set out to betake himself to (the place) called Kānapaddāuda. A dreadful, savage she-bear, with great sharp claws³, sprang at him in the vast wilder-

¹ Lit.: "with reference to the going to his own house". Thus Gajabāhu takes *yuvarājaratṭha* as a joking expression of Parakkamabāhu's for his house, as he is of course playing the part of *yuvarāja*. The King does not for a moment think that Dakkhipadesa is meant. Even the words *vidhāya pitudassanaṃ* he refers to himself not to Kittisirimegha.

² These are words of favourable augury, *vacanam maṅgulasamhitam*, which the Prince at once applies to his high-soaring plans.

³ The jungle bear (*melursus labiatus*) native to Ceylon, is distinguished by its enormous claws.

42 ness with her cubs, with a fearful howl. Forcing her down
 with the edge of his shield, he split her with his sword in
 two halves, but with the back of his foot he quickly cast off
 43 the cubs. He then called together his comrades who had
 fled in fear into the forest. While hereupon still free from
 44 fear, he passed over rocky country¹, he brought down a boar
 terrible beyond all measure, who had attacked him as if it
 were a whole herd², and who gave vent to a terrible grunt.
 45 Then when marching further at the village of Demeliyagama³
 at daybreak, he beheld the peasants who were named after
 46 it⁴, setting forth sword in hand on some kind of enterprise,
 he thinking they came at the head of the (pursuing) army⁵,
 47 smote vehemently with his sword on his shield and with a
 48 savage cry: "I will slay the villains" sprang into the midst
 of them like a lion among gazelles. They fled frightened into
 49 the big forest, throwing away their weapons. Thereupon the
 Prince looked thither on every side and when he saw a man
 50 who had fallen into a chasm, he drew him out of the abyss
 and asked him who they were. When he had heard out of
 his mouth the state of affairs in accordance with the truth,
 51 he spake full of pity: "Leave off fearing everyone and take
 up your weapons", and declared to them openly his own
 52 purpose. Near Maṅgalabegāma he saw for the first time sol-

¹ P. *silākhaṇḍam*. W. takes the word for a proper name.

² The Col. Ed. changes the MSS. reading *yathā yūthābhiyantam* unnecessarily into *tathā y°* W. accordingly translates "leading a herd"

³ The form of the name is quite uncertain. The MSS. waver. The Col. Ed. has *Demeliyanaga* but it is just the *m* which is present in all the MSS.

⁴ The passage is very difficult. W. takes *vopanāṁike* as a place name, but the locality is already given in *Demeliyagamavhaye gāme*. I think that *vopanāṁike* belongs to the immediately preceding *gāṁike* and that the word corresponds to a Skr. *aupanāmika* (**upanāman* "surname, nickname"). *Gāṁike vopanāṁike* thus means the same as *Demeliyagamagāṁike*.

⁵ We must connect *puretaram* with *yānā* (abl.); *yāna* has the meaning of the Latin *agmen*. Lit.: here they come in advance of the army (oratio recta).

diers of his retinue¹ who had come according to the agreement, and accompanied by them, he betook himself to the locality called Janapada and joined his retinue who had arrived there beforehand². The Prince tarried there with his people two or three days, giving himself up to the pleasures of the chase and various other entertainments.

When King Kittisirimegha now learned from a letter sent him by his watchmen, that his son had betaken himself thither, he rejoiced in the thought that after the Prince sojourned so long with the enemy, he had now without taking any harm, happily escaped out of the power of the foe. With the command: "Ye must, my friends, without delay bring hither to me the son who chases away my grief, and before a hindrance arises, show him to me", he sent to him from the five groups of menials, who were known to be courageous³, together with an autograph letter and gifts.

¹ P. *bhaṭe saḥavaḍḍhite*. Cf. with this *saḥavaḍḍhitānaṃ amaccānaṃ* 68. 5, *saḥavaḍḍhitayoḍḍhehi* 70. 189, as well as *saddhinvadḍhitaposesu* 70. 277. The meaning of *saḥavaḍḍhita* is apparently the same as that of *saḥagata* "come along with", and then "belonging to the immediate retinue". Is there perhaps a connection between *vaḍḍhita* and the Sinh. *vaḍḍhavā*?

² The localities, *Khajjūravaḍḍhamāna*, *Kāṇapaddāuda*, *Demeliyagama* and *Maṅgalabegāma* all lie on a line running from Polonnaruwa to east of Dambul. See note to 66. 110. The Prince had covered the distance — about 20—25 miles as the crow flies — in a night and part of the following day, reaching Demeliyagama at daybreak. His retinue expect him according to agreement (see 67. 22) at Janapada, and from here according to orders, some people have come to Maṅgalabegāma to meet him. Of this place CODRINGTON says (I. 70): "Maṅgalaba seems to represent some such name as Magul-ebé; a Makul-ebé is said locally to be between Konduraveva and Puvakgaha Ulpota in Matale District."

³ The Col. Ed. has *nāyaka*^o and W. accordingly translates: "reputed heads of the five trades". But the MSS. have all *nāsaka*^o which points rather to *nāsaiṅka*^o (after *jane* = *anāsaiṅka*^o). Kittisirimegha entrusts with the commission people whose hearts are in the right place, bearing in mind the violent death suffered by the Senāpati Saṅkha. According to W. *pessiyā* were artisans, such as carpenters, weavers, washermen, barbers and shoemakers (note to the passage). In 84. 5 in addition to

- 59 The Prince was glad when he saw the people and the presents they had brought, and betook himself thence to Saraggāma¹
 60 desirous of meeting again with his father. Now when Kit-
 61 tisirimegha heard that his son was there, he sent thither the head of the Kuṭhārasabhā² as well as Abhaya, the chief of the ascetics, who dwelt in the Pañcapariveṇamūla monastery with the order to fetch him hither without loss of time.
 62 When the Prince had learned the circumstances of his royal father as narrated by them, he spake: if the stars are favourable, I will depart and ye must go with me, and for yet a few days he passed the time with games at waterfalls and other pleasant places.
 64 When the Prince's companions saw the soldiers who came from every side, to seek the officials with the chief of the
 65 Sabhā at their head, they remembering the wrong they had themselves formerly done³ the King by their adherence to the Prince, became agitated through fear. And they spake to one another: "Many soldiers are gathering here from divers places. Hard to see through are the intentions of these
 67 officials. They are all united here, surround us on every side and taking us in the centre, have occupied the various places".
 68 And being perturbed, they told the matter also to the King's son.
 69 He was wroth. "Never and nowhere do all these cowards look at things as they really are, and therefore they see nothing
 70 but danger where no danger is. At the sight of the village guard who have come to see the head of the Sabhā they

the five, ten *passiyavaggā* are distinguished. They are *rājakulāyattā*, belong to the royal household.

¹ See note to 66. 71.

² *Kuṭhārādisabhā* is, as so often, nothing but a paraphrase for *Kuṭhārasabhā* (see note to 44. 6). It is a case of some kind of council chamber (*sabhā*). The word *kuṭhāru* means "axe". Instead of °*vāsi* 'bhaya° the Col. Ed. reads °*vāsiñca*; thus the name of the priest is missing here.

³ The following translation is also possible: "remembering the wanton deed which they themselves in common with the Prince, had committed against the King." The sentence would then contain an allusion to the murder of the Senāpati Saṅkha.

talk contemptible nonsense to me" — and he spake to them 71 words to this effect. But they melted away gradually hither and thither. When the Prince heard of it he spake: "Although 72 they have witnessed my courage on divers occasions and their own rescue over and over again by me from evil situations, 73 their inborn cowardice doth not forsake these cravens. What boots it me whether they stay here or run away, and what 74 man can plot anything and what (can he plot) so long as I live?" And he spent yet some time tarrying there.

When Queen Ratanāvalī heard that her son was there, 75 but that he was not coming with the (envoys) sent out by his father, she thought: "It is not meet that grief should 76 be caused to the King by my son passing the time without coming; I will myself at once bring my son to the Monarch and 77 present him, to him". Thereupon she came in haste from Rohaṇa hither, betook herself to Saṅkhanāththalī, sought 78 out the Ruler, exchanged with him many friendly words and, asked by the Monarch, she informed him of the reason for her 79 coming. Then she went thence to Saraggāma, sought out her 80 son, the Thera, the chief of the ascetics, and the head of the Sabhā and took close counsel with them as to what was to be done. And as (in her opinion) it was not at all seemly 81 to linger far (from the capital), she took the Prince along with her and betook herself to Badalatthalī. Together with 82 the Senāpati Deva¹ stationed there she went to Saṅkhanāththalī and presented (the Prince) to his father, the King. When then Kittisirimegha beheld his son, he spake in his 83 love to the highest officials thus: "To-day the arrow of 84 anxiety as to who here might look after me in my old age and show me the last honours, is taken out of my soul. But 85 think not that it is for me only a blessing, is it not also for you a reward brought forth by former merits? From now 86 onwards ye must all yield obedience to the Prince". With these words the King commended to them his son. While 87

¹ Deva who is here called *senādhīpati*, was apparently the successor of the murdered Saṅkha. Like the latter he lived at Badalatthalī.

the official's full of zeal, did according to his command, King Kittisirinnegha departed this life.

- 88 The steadfast Prince who knew the writings of the Master (Buddha)¹, was not mastered by the agitation called forth by
 89 the grief at his father's death. He comforted the inhabitants of the kingdom beginning with the high dignitaries, carried out the fire burial of his father in a manner worthy of him,
 90 appointed here and there in the country and on the frontiers of the realm loyally devoted officials amongst his immediate
 91 followers². Then versed in the laws valid for the nobility, at a favourable constellation, during the festival of the bind-
 92 ing on of the frontlet denoting the rank of mahādipāda he held a solemn procession — he the ornament of Laṅkā, adorned with all ornaments, around the town adorned with every or-
 93 nament in every way — he the mighty round the troop-filled (town), he the most dexterous riding on his elephant — even
 94 as the King of the gods round the city of the gods³. By the rain of an abundant gift of money to the samanās and the brāhmaṇas and others he stilled then the persistence of the
 95 glow of their poverty. To the King Gajabāhu and to the King Mānābharaṇa he sent hereupon his envoys to inform them of the affair⁴.

¹ P. *ñātasatthāgama*. It is doubtful whether *sattha* contains the Skr. *śāstra* or *śāstr* (P. *satthar*). W. seems to assume the former, since he translates: "versed in all knowledge and religion". I think the latter and take *satthāgama* as a synonym of *buddhāgama*. The Buddha teaches in the sacred scriptures, absolute quiet of soul, indifference towards joy and sorrow.

² W. translates "officers whom he had trained". That is in itself unobjectionable. *Nijavaḍḍhita* would correspond then to skr. *nijavarḍhita* = *svavarḍhita* (BR. s. v. *nija*, near the end). I find it difficult however, to separate *nijavaḍḍhita* from the *sahavaḍḍhita* so often used in the same context. See note to 67. 52.

³ The whole section is full of puns. Notice in v. 91 *nakhatte* and *khatta*, in v. 92 *alaṃkāra* and *alaṃkata*, *nekehi* and *nekadhū*, in v. 93 *pabala* and *bala*, *dukkhinagga* and *padakkhina* (which I have rendered by "solemn procession"), as well as *akari* and *kurim*, *surindo* and *surālayam*.

⁴ Thus he observes diplomatic courtesy in notifying the change of

He (Parakkamabāhu) who had won¹ the hearts of his 96 many officers through the fulness of his excellent qualities, who had reduced all hostility to nothing², who had won lustrous glory, whose wealth consisted in his renown which filled the whole universe, dwelt in that town doing much good.

Here ends the sixty-seventh chapter, called "The Festival of the Mahādipāda", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

reign. But it is to be noted that he assumes the title of *mahādipāda*. This looks like modesty, but it includes as against Gajabāhu, for future time the claim to the crown in the whole of the kingdom.

¹ *nīta*, lit. "directed, led" is to be taken in the sense of *vasaṃ nīta* "brought under his influence, won over for himself".

² For *vidhūnita* cf. skr. *dhū* with *vi*, in BR. 2.

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE IMPROVEMENT OF HIS OWN KINGDOM

- 1 With his high-soaring plans and with his exact knowledge
 of the other country, though now in possession of the royal
 dignity, he did not give way to empty boasting¹ (such as):
 2 "the reward of my royal dignity, after the subjugation of all
 my foes, consists (now already) in the gain of prosperity and
 3 welfare for the laity and the Order", but he thought: "It
 is true, I have by my extraordinary insight brought my king-
 dom although it is small, so far that much in it has pro-
 4 spered, but I will now within a short time further it so
 greatly that it will surpass the greatness of other kingdoms".
 5 With this reflection the Prince granted to all the dignitaries
 amongst his followers², to each according to his merit, posts

¹ A difficult passage. The alteration of pāda c in the Col. Ed. into *tatiha mantanam-āpajja* (W. "he took counsel with . . .") is unnecessary. I believe that *katthamattam anāpajja* which some of the MSS. have, while the writing of others suggests it, gives quite good sense. That would be the skr. **katthāmātram* (**katthā* "boasting" from the root *katth*). At most a quite slight alteration might be made — *katthanattam*: *katthana* (skr. the same) and suff. *-tta* (skr. *-tva*) "condition of boasting". *Neyyuttaka* in d I regard on account of the *c* in the first syllable, as a secondary derivative of *niyutta* (skr. *niyukta*) and as a substantive at that, formed like *rāmaṇīyaka* "loveliness". Pāṇini's rule 5. 1. 132, it is true, allows this formation only with adjectives in *-ya*. Strophe 2 gives then the content of the boasting from which Parakkamabāhu refrains, being conscious of the great tasks which still await him. He is not satisfied by what he has achieved till now and by a quiet and pious life in his present realm, but he aspires after the sovereignty over whole Ceylon.

² See above notes to 67. 52 and 90. W. translates here and also in

and inclined them to himself by gifts of money. From the 6
 Samantakūṭa¹ mountain to the port at the sea he divided his
 army along the frontier of the kingdom into various camps,
 and reflecting that in the first place, in every possible way 7
 grain must be stored in mass, he spake thus to his hench-
 men: "In the realm that is subject to me there are, apart 8
 from many strips of country where the harvest flourishes
 mainly by rain water, but few fields which are dependent on 9
 rivers with permanent flow or on great reservoirs. Also by 10
 many mountains, by thick jungle, and by widespread swamps
 my kingdom is much straitened. Truly in such a country 11
 not even a little water that comes from the rain must flow
 into the ocean without being made useful to man. Except at 12
 the mines where there are precious stones, gold and the like,
 in all other places the laying out of fields must be taken in
 hand. For a life of enjoyment of what one possesses, without 13
 having cared for the welfare of the people, in no wise befits
 one like myself. And when it is the case of a difficult task, 14
 ye also all with untiring energy must not regard it as hard;
 without neglecting the command given by me, ye must fully 15
 carry out the work as ordered". The highly renowned gave 16
 the order to rebuild on the river Jajjarā² the great causeway
 known as Koṭṭhabaddha which had since long been in ruins,
 so that the name alone remained, and which had caused the 17
 kings of former times the greatest difficulties. The officials 18
 all described in every way the difficulties of the work and its
 lack of permanence even if it were carried out. The King 19
 Parakkamabāhu³ repudiated the word: "What is there in the
 world that cannot be carried out by people of energy? That 20

70. 189 and 277 "officers that had been brought up with him", but in
 67. 52 "his fellow soldiers".

¹ See note to 60. 64.

² Now the Deduru-oya. The river rises southwest of Kurunegala,
 flows at first in a northwesterly and northerly direction, turns west
 below its junction with the Kimbulvana-oya, flows at no great distance
 past Nikaveratiya and falls into the sea to the north of Chilav.

³ Note that from now onwards Parakkamabāhu has the title of King.

even Rāma had a great causeway built by the monkey hosts over the ocean — this tale lives among the people to this day.
 21 If my extraordinary power should be the cause of the furthering of the laity and the Order by the union of Laṅkā
 22 under one umbrella, then even at the beginning of the enterprise one sees (in anticipation) its fulfilment'. By such words
 23 the energetic one fired their energy. From the causeway as starting-point to the district called Rattakara¹ the discerning
 24 ruler before building the causeway, laid down a large canal, in depth many times the length of a man, very broad and
 25 exceedingly solid. As in this district there was a lack of stone masons², the far-famed (King) called together in great
 26 number coppersmiths, blacksmiths and goldsmiths and made over to them the business of masonry and made them lay down a dam in which the joints of the stones were scarcely
 27 to be seen, very firm, quite massive, like to a solid rock³

¹ W. is thinking of the Ratkerauva (?) in the Atakalan Korale of Sabaragamuva; that is of course geographically quite impossible. CODRINGTON (I. 70) refers us to Ratkaravva, about 4½ miles N. W. of Kurunegala in the Kuda Galboda Korale. If this is right, then the small river that flows immediately past Kurunegala and joins the Deduru-oya further north, would be included in the irrigation system. The great reservoir must then be sought not far from the spot where the road from Kurunegala to Dambul crosses the Deduru-oya. But I believe that the form of the name is Rattakara, and -*avha* the word -*avha* occurring so frequently at the end of names with the meaning "called so and so". The large map of Ceylon too has not the form Ratkaravva but Ratkara-veva.

² I believe that my emendation of the MSS. *silākottakānammahā-pālohakārake* into °*kānam abhāvā loha*° is simpler than that of the Col. Ed. °*kānam nivaham loha*°; *bha* is very easily confused with *ha* and *va* with *pa*. The familiar *mahā* led to a doubling of the *m*. The sense is now even more pregnant. If a number (*nivaha*) of stone masons had been available, one would not have needed the various smiths for the building of the reservoir and the canal. For they are only employed for *silākottanakamma*.

³ P. *piṭṭhipāsāṇa*, according to PTS. P. D. s. v. "a flat stone or rock, plateau, ridge". The idea is: the whole causeway looks like a single immense slab of stone, like a monolith.

and provided with a complete coating of stucco. As a be- 28
 liever he placed on the height of the causeway a bodhi tree,
 an image house and a relic shrine¹. And expert as he was, 29
 he so arranged matters that the whole quantity of water was
 borne through the canal to the sea. On both sides of the 30
 canal he had the great wildernesses cleared and many thou-
 sands of day's work² fields laid out, and because the land 31
 was thickly studded with granaries full of untrussed rice³ he
 caused it to be called by the fitting name of Koṭṭhabaddha.

Hereupon at the place of union of the two rivers Saṅkha- 32
 vaḍḍhamānaka and Kumbhilaṇā⁴ the Sovereign had the place 33
 Sūkaranijjhara dammed up in the aforesaid way and likewise
 a canal laid down. He had the water from there carried to 34
 the Mahāgallaka tank⁵ and after he had dammed up every-
 thing there that was decayed and ruined, having first cleared 35
 out the drainage canals, he built a weir⁶ of larger propor-
 tions than before. From this place as far as Sūkaranijjhara 36
 he had fields made and collected in this way stocks of grain.
 In the middle of the Jajjarā river at the place Dorādattika 37
 he built a dam and a large canal and also from there as far 38
 as Sūkaranijjhara he had fields made and brought together a

¹ P. *dhātugabbhaṃ*. Here, as already in 60. 56 and below in 79. 14, the word appears with the meaning of the Sinhalese *dāgāba* or *dagoba*, not as originally for the relic chamber built into the stūpa, but for the stūpa itself (*dhātugabbha* = *thūpa*).

² P. *vāha*, a land measure, as much ground as one can cultivate with a "load" of seed corn.

³ The reading *abaddhavāhi* of the MSS. which has been arbitrarily altered in the Col. Ed. into *akhaṇḍavāhi*, is necessary, in order to explain the second part of the name *Koṭṭhabaddha*.

⁴ These are the rivers Hakvaṭunu-oya and Kimbulvana-oya (CODRINGTON I. 70). The former joins the latter from the right about 4 miles above its junction with the Deduru-oya. Cf. above note to v. 16.

⁵ As the Mahāgallakavāpi is in all probability the Magalle-veva reservoir in the Magul Oota Korale near Nikaveratiya, the canal must have followed the right bank of the Deduru-oya for a length of about 16 miles. Cf. note to 44. 3.

⁶ P. *vāripāta*, lit. "waterfall". Cf. 48. 148 and 79. 66, 67 with the notes.

39 large quantity of corn¹. The Paṇḍavāpi² tank which was formerly quite small he provided with a solid dam whose height, length and breadth were enlarged (as compared with former
40 dimensions), and (also) with an immense, high³ weir and with overflow canals and gave it the name Parakkamasamudda.
41 On the island in the middle of the tank he built on the summit of a rock a cetiya that showed forth the beauty of
42 the Kelāsa mountain⁴. In its centre he built a royal pleasure house three storeys high and very beautiful, which was a
43 habitation for a fulness of worldly joys. The reservoirs Mahāgalla, Setṭhivāpi and Chattunnata, Tabbāvāpi, as well as
44 Ambavāsāvāpi, Giribāvāpi, Pāṭala, Maṇḍika, Moravāpi, Sādiyaggāmavāpi and also Tilagullaka; Mālavalli and Kālī as well as
45 Kittakaṇḍaka, Kaṇṇikāragallavāpi and Buddhagāmakanijjhara;
46 Sūkaraggāmavāpi and Mahākinnālavāpi, Giriyāvāpi, Rakkhamāna, Ambala and Kaṭunnaru; Jallibāva, Uttaraṭṭala and Tintinīgāma,
47 Dhavalaviṭṭhikagāma, Kirāvāpi, Naḷannaru; Karaviṭṭhavalatta, as well as Udumbaragāma, Munaru and Kasālla and Kalala-
48 hallika; Mūlavārikavāpi and Girisigāmuka, Polonnarutala and
49 also Visirāṭṭhala⁵ — these many tanks and sixteen others in
50

¹ The statement *majjhe Tajjaranajjāya* is too vague, to allow of fixing the position of Dorādattika with certainty. I think, however, that it must be looked for above the mouth of the Kumbhīlavāna-nadī. If it were below, the canal described in vv. 32 ff. would stand in the way of a diversion from the right bank. With a diversion from the left bank however the junction with Sūkaranijjhara would cross the Deduru-oya itself.

² See note to 60. 50.

³ P. *abhhunnata*. It is difficult to say what the special meaning of the word is here.

⁴ By the brilliant white of the coating which reminds one of the summit of the Kailāsa wrapped in eternal snow. This is a mountain group of over 20000 ft. in height, belonging to the trans-Himalayan system. The Tibetans call the mountain Kang-rinpotsche and, like the Hindus, they hold it sacred. Cf. SVEN HEDIN, *Transhimalaya* II. 91 ff., 164 ff., III. 170 ff.

⁵ Mr. CODRINGTON had the kindness to send me by letter (19. 10. 1926) a series of identifications established by him for vv. 43-49: 1. Mahāgalla = Magalleveva (see notes to 44. 3 and 68. 34); 2. Vāsāvāpi =

which the weirs were destroyed¹ he whose heart was chained to pity², had restored in his realm. In the Pañcayojana 51 District where there were great swamp ponds, he took the water from there and conducted it to rivers, laid out fields 52 and collected a large quantity of grain. In the wildernesses there and at very many other places he determined every- 53 where what was to remain as wilderness³, and assembling all the village chiefs, he entrusted the inhabitants with the cultivation (of the remaining country). The discerning (Prince) 54 thereby brought it about that the new fields yielded a tax which was greater than the old taxes produced in the kingdom, and at the same time brought it to pass that the in- 55 habitants of the country never more knew fear of famine. Versed in administration he thought: in my kingdom wherever 56 it may be, there shall not be even a small courtyard without its roofing of leafage, and had therefore here and there charm- 57

Vasiyava in the Magul Otota Korale (near Nikaveratiya); 3. Giribāvāpi = Giribava in Mi-oyen Egoda Korale (on the left bank of the Kala-oya); 4. Maṇḍika = Maṇḍiyava in the Pahala Visideke Korale (north of Maho); 5. Tilagullaka = Talagalle Ela (see note to 58. 43), in the Katuvana Korale (east of Magul Otota K.); 6. Kāli? = Kaliyavaḍana, a large irrigation work in Pitigal Korale (at Chilav); 7. Buddhagāmakanijjhara? = Butgomu-oya, Yatikaha Korale (20 miles west of Kurunegala); 8. Sūkaraggāma-vāpi? = Urapotta, Kinyama Korale (left bank of the lower Deduru-oya); 9. Mahākīrālāvāpi = Mahagirilla, Magul Medagandahaye Korale East (north of the Magul Otota K.); 10. Giriyāvāpi = Galgiriāvā, Nikavagampahe Korale (north-east of Maho); 11. Ambāla = Ambale, Magul Medagandahaye Korale East (see under 9); 12. Tintinīgāmaka = Siyambalangomuva, Hatalispaha Korale (between Nikavagampahe K. and Mi-oyen Egoda K., a large now abandoned tank north-east of Galgamuva); 13. Kīrāvāpi = Kīraveva, Yagam Pattu Korale (10 miles E. of Chilav); 14. Karavitthavilatta = Karavita and Vilattava, Pitigal Korale North (at Chilav), and Yagam Pattu Korale (see under 13). — For *Moravāpi* see notes to 69. 9, 70. 67.

¹ I think we must read *naṭṭhamjjaravāpiyo* instead of *naṭṭhā nijjh°*.

² Pun on *dayābaddhamano* and *bandhāpesi*.

³ Lit.: "determining the wilderness places"; *vavatthā* is a gerund and stands for *-tithāya* with a causative meaning. Thus he separated the cultivable land from that which was incapable of cultivation.

58 ing parks laid out, filled full with numerous species of creepers and trees which bore fruits and which bore blossoms, and which offered many delights¹ and which were beautified by all kinds of garden beds².

59 Aware of the right method, the Prince so acted that in consequence of his extraordinary insight his own kingdom though small, (now) brought to such prosperity, surpassed another, even a great kingdom.

Here ends the sixty-eighth chapter, called "The Improvement of his own Kingdom", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ P. *aneka-anubhava-ādhāre* "the foundations of many delights". For the meaning of *anubhava* cf. those of the kindred verb. *anu-bhū*.

² P. *nānānuyyānasundare*, which I split up into *nānā anuyyāna s°*; *anuyyāna* corresponds to *uyyāna* as *anudhamma* to *dhamma* and is used of the smaller secondary garden-like beds in the *ārāmā*.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE COLLECTION OF MILITARY FORCES AND MONEY

When Parakkamabāhu had thus set his whole kingdom in 1 order in the best possible way, he pondered over what was now to be done: "Former foolish kings to whom good direc- 2 tion of affairs of state was unknown, for long injured at their pleasure people and Order. The ascetics made the 3 Order abandon the teaching and discipline of the Master; they neglected religious duties and lived according to their own pleasure. If now I soon unite Laṅkā under one umbrella, 4 I shall perchance be able to raise up again Order and people." After these reflections he gave orders to officers and district 5 chiefs to put troops and war material in readiness. First of 6 all the Prince summoned to him the official with the title of King of Malaya who was leader of the Daṃḍa army in the district called Rattakara¹, and after he had placed in 7 readiness many thousands of men, as well as armaments and weapons, he sent him away to take up his abode there. From 8 the Tabbā district, from the Giribā district, from Moravāpi, from the Mahīpāla district, and from the Pilaviṭṭhika district; from the Buddhagāma district and from the district called 9 Ambavana, from the Bodhigāmavara district and from the 10 Kaṇṭakapeṭaka² district he summoned the officials of the

¹ See note to 68. 23.

² Of the names mentioned here the following are already known: 1) Tabbā in Tabbāvāpi 68. 43; 2) Giribā in Giribāvāpi, cf. note to 68. 49, nr. 3; 3) Moravāpi 68. 44; 4) Buddhagāma, cf. note to 58. 43; 5) Ambavana, cf. note to 66 85; 6) Bodhigāmavara, cf. note to 66. 78. It is clear that here we have the enumeration of the frontier districts of Dakkhinadesa towards Rājaraṭṭha from N.W. to S.E.

frontier guard singly, placed at their disposal many thousands
 11 of men, strong mails and divers weapons, such as swords,
 javelins, lances and the like and sent each of them to his
 12 place to dwell there. At that time Laṅkāmahālāna, Sikhānā-
 13 yaka, Jayamahālāna, Setṭhināyaka and Mahinda by name —
 these five highly respected men belonging to the Lambakannas¹
 14 dwelt in the Moriya² district. He made each one of them
 supply a thousand warriors and ordered them to get ready
 15 the (necessary) war equipment. In the interior of the country
 the King set up twelve district chiefs and allotted to each
 16 of them two thousand men. Further he appointed eighty four
 officers, men tested by victory, and entrusted to each of them
 17 a force of a thousand men. He also raised several thousand
 soldiers armed with clubs, tall men and strong, and the (need-
 18 ful) war appliances. Of the foreign soldiers, such as the
 Keraḷas and others, who were in his service, he raised several
 19 thousand. Of one thousand he made moonlight archers, versed
 in night-fighting, and gave them leathern doublets and the like.
 20 Many thousand Vyādhas³ too he brought together, (men) who
 understood their task and gave them what was fitting for
 21 them: spears, drums⁴ and the like. Of the many work people

The Tabbā district accordingly lies in the extreme northwest on the left bank of the lower Kala-oya probably in Rajavanni-Pattuva. I find a Mahatabbova marked on the 12-sheet-map. Moravāpi, Mahīpāla and Pilaviṭṭhika must be looked for in this order between Griba and Menikdena. It is clear from 72. 163, 170 that Pilaviṭṭhi or Pillaviṭṭhi (the two are certainly identical) lay not far from Kālavāpi. Possibly Kaṇṭakapeṭaka lay east or northeast of Matale.

¹ Cf. note to 39. 44.

² Moriya is otherwise (38. 13, 41. 69) a clan name.

³ That *vyādha* here is a rendering of the Sinh. *vāddā* seems to me certain, though this does not prove that the etymological derivation of the latter from the former is correct.

⁴ W. separates *sattikāḷambara* into *satti-kāḷa-ambara* and translates "swords, black clothes". That is certainly wrong. We must separate into *sattikā-āḷambara*. *Sattikā* is the diminutive of *satti* "spear" = skr. *śakti*. One might also derive it from *satti* "knife" = skr. *śastrī*, but I consider that less likely. *Āḷambara* is the skr. *āḍambara* "drum".

the King then ordered each thousand to perform the work appropriate to them¹. With the wish that people skilled in the art of riding elephants or horses and of handling the sword, in the use of foreign tongues, in dance and song, in court service should increase in number, the Sovereign brought up many of the sons, brothers and grandchildren of distinguished families in his own palace. Of the many groups such as the Churikaggāhaka, the Kappūravaddhaka, the Khuddasevaka, the Sihalagandhabba, the Santikāvacara and so on² he supported several thousand of each of them at the royal court. To the young people among the chamberlains, barbers and the like he gave weapons and commanded them always to acknowledge the eldest among them as their leaders. Having established through the people who had been the treasurers of his father the King, the state of the finances, he came to the decision, that with such means it would be impossible to establish a universal dominion in Laṅkā, and collected without oppressing the people (further) money in the following way: The monarch separated finance administration and the army from each other and made them over to two officials who were the chief officials³. The whole realm ruled by him the King divided equally (into two halves) and appointed a couple of auditors who came in regular ad-

¹ Parakkama thus supplies the demand for workers for the army by recruiting from the castes.

² It is not possible to determine what various groups (*vaggabhedā*), castes or guilds are meant. Taken in order the names singly denote: 1) knife bearers, dagger bearers, 2) camphor producers (cf. *civaravaddhaka* "makers of clothing"), 3) little servants, 4) Sihala musicians, 5) comrades of the immediate entourage.

³ Parakkama must thus have created two chief ministries, a ministry of War and one for the internal administration, each with a highest official at the head. For simplification the latter was locally divided into two parts (v. 30) to which a third was added which embraced in particular the administration of the mines (? *sāraṭṭhāna*, v. 32). It is clear that the compiler is here describing the system of administration set up in certain works of the Nīti literature. It is of course possible that Parakkama himself adopted this system.

31 vancement¹ (to the office). From the district on the sea coast²,
 32 from the district Ratanākara³, from the great Malaya country
 33 and from other districts the Ruler separated all land of
 34 extraordinary value and placed it under an official for whom
 35 he created the so-called "Office of the Interior"⁴. By ship he
 36 sent off many precious stones, traded with these and so increased
 37 the money resources. In charge of the two chief officials he
 38 caused to supply war material and troops of many thousand
 39 men, and in that of the three (other) officials also, him of
 40 the office of the Interior and the two heads of provinces, he
 41 raised very many troops. To test the military fitness of the
 42 soldiers⁵ he arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most
 43 skilled and granted them high distinction. Those unfitted for
 44 fight he dismissed out of pity: they were to till the fields
 45 and perform other work and live in peace.

38 Thus versed in right method, he placed in readiness mails
 39 and weapons and skilled troops and without oppressing the
 40 people, he collected with ease large resources in money.

Here ends the sixty-ninth chapter, called "The Collection
 of military Forces and Money", in the Mahāvamsa, compiled
 for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ P. *kamāgate*. I believe that what is meant is that these officials, in order to have the necessary expert knowledge, had to work their way up through the various grades of service.

² Here it is probably a case of the strips of coast where pearl fishing was carried on.

³ I have no doubt that the district meant is that in which the present Ratnapura lies (cf. W., note to the passage), and which was ever and again the "mine of precious stones" (*ratanākara*).

⁴ P. *antarāṅgadhura*. See skr. *antarāṅga*.

⁵ By *bhaṭa* are meant all people of an age to bear arms.

CHAPTER LXX

THE SURRENDER OF THE ROYAL DIGNITY

Hereupon, after Parakkamabāhu had surveyed his great 1
 army and the abundant stocks in money and corn and his
 whole war material, he thought: quite apart from the island 2
 of Sīhala it would not be difficult to conquer even Jambudīpa,
 and he set about getting the royal dominion into his power.
 Into the great Malaya country¹ which was difficult to pene- 3
 trate owing to the inaccessibility of the many mountains and
 on account of the danger from wild animals, shut off from
 intercourse with other men, passable only on footpaths, offer- 4
 ing all kinds of perils and dangerous by reason of deep
 waters with man-eating crocodiles, in Yaṭṭhikaṇḍa and Dum- 5
 bara², he summoned Rakkha the daṇḍādhināyaka³ of King 6
 Gajabāhu, and graciously showed him great distinction. He then
 gave him the order to take possession of the Malaya country
 and make it over to him. When the inhabitants heard of the 7
 affair, they agreed that they would kill the general when he
 came to them. At these tidings the general came hither in 8
 haste, fought, scattered the enemy in flight and occupied the
 district of Dumbara. Thereupon he continued the fight in 9

¹ Parakkamabāhu goes to work with great deliberation. Before undertaking the attack on Rājaraṭṭha, he secures his right flank by occupying the mountain country of Malaya. This is called, as in 69. 31, *Mahā-malayaḍesa*.

² Probably the province of Dumbara (Pata D. and Uda D.) which stretches N.E. of Kandy, though possibly its scope was more restricted in ancient times than now. See below note to v. 14.

³ The title occurs in different forms; also *daṇḍanātha* (so v. 7, 8), *daṇḍanāyaka* (70. 279 etc.). It seems to be of a military character; *daṇḍa* is probably to be understood as "army".

Yatthikaṇḍa and seized the head of the chief there, after he
 10 had beaten the foe. At the village of Tālakkhetta he twice
 offered battle and he likewise fought two combats at Nāga-
 11 pabbata¹. Also at the village Suvannadoṇi² by name, at
 Rāmucchuvallika and at Dematthapādathali he delivered at
 12 each in turn an action, and after all the enemy inhabiting
 the different places were subjugated he took possession of the
 13 Yatthikaṇḍa district with strong forces. After leaving there his
 younger brother behind with the army, he betook himself to
 14 the King to consider what was to be done. The soldiers at
 the head of whom was his brother, now marched forth and
 after a fight with the enemy, seized the district called Ni-
 15 lagallaka³. The general returned and after he had successi-
 vely delivered battle at Sayakhettaka, at Rattabeduma and at
 16 Dhanuvillika⁴ and had slain the foe, he made the conquered
 17 district Nilagallaka into a safe possession. Hereupon he twice
 offered action against the powerful Otturāmallaka the chief
 18 of Dhanumaṇḍala, and after conquering the Nissenikkhettaka
 district and clearing it of the briers (of the foe), he brought
 19 Otturāmallaka and his people into his power. Thereupon the
 King summoned the general Rakkha to him and conferred
 on him the dignity of a Kesadhātu⁵ and great distinction.

¹ The place mentioned here has nothing to do with the Nakapawata vihāra mentioned in the Tammanakanda inscription (E. MÜLLER AIC., No. 55).

² Corresponds probably to a modern Randeniya. The Census of 1921 mentions five localities of this name; but the position of none of them fits our Suvannadoṇi.

³ A Nilgala lies in Udasiya Pattu North in Dumbara (thus CODRINGTON), that is in the mountains north of Teldeniya. If the identification is right, then the engagements described in vv. 8 ff. must have taken place in a comparatively restricted area in the region N. E. of Kandy. The names in vv. 8 and 9 do not occur again. Rāmucchuvallika (v. 11) might be meant for Rambukvela in Gampaha Korale West, 7 miles east of Teldeniya (cf. W. note to passage).

⁴ A Dunuvila lies about five miles S. E. of Teldeniya, only just over two miles south of the spot where the last king of Ceylon was captured. Thus also CODRINGTON.

⁵ Cf. the note to 57. 65. The Order of the Kesadhātu was not founded for the first time now, as one might assume from the note in W's translation. It existed already at the time of Vijayabāhu I.

The King sent him forth to take the district of Majjhima-
 vagga¹. He betook himself to Nilagiri² and after he had
 armed his troops there, the mighty one fought in the pro-
 vince Vāpivāṭaka by name and in Majjhimavagga and won
 the victory. When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these
 events, he sent out a great army to fight him. At news of
 this the Kesadhātu, who had with him a correspondingly
 strong army and train, scattered the enemy forces and oc-
 cupied Majjhimavagga. Lokajitvāṇa by name and the Lañ-
 kādhināyaka Rakkha³, the lion-hearted ones, armed a division,
 marched forth and fought the Laṅkānātha Hukitti; they de-
 feated him and brought the district called Rerupallika into
 their power. In Kosavagga the King brought Samantamalla
 by name by amicable means under his influence and showed
 him great honour; he then sent him war material and a big
 army and charged him to seize Kosavagga. Samantamallaka
 by name, Otturāmallaka and his people fought with the
 hostile army and slew many in the battle. After they had
 fought a great battle at the place called Sīsacchinnakabodhi,
 the mighty ones got hold of the Kosavagga district⁴.

When he had thus made peaceful the province of Malaya
 where owing to its inhabitants there had been no peace, he
 dwelt at ease in his town and passed the time with games

¹ Contrary to all the MSS. the Col. Ed. reads *rājaratṭham* instead of *rājā ratṭham*. Accordingly W. translates "sent him to the king's country to take the district of Majjhima-vaggaka". That is wrong. The scene is not yet Rājaratṭha but Malaya. Majjhimavagga is identified by COBRINGTON with Medivaka in Gampaha Korale, Dumbura.

² Nilagiri is probably identical with the Nilagallaka mentioned above. It is now the base for further operations.

³ *Laṅkādhināyaka* (variants *laṅkānātha*, ex. 70. 25, or *laṅkādhinātha*, ex. 70. 232) is again a title which occurs frequently in just this pariccheda. The *Laṅkādhināyaka Rakkha* is of course different from the *Dandādhināyaka* ("general") *Rakkha*, now *Kesadhātu Rakkha*. The two are mentioned together 70. 282, 283. Cf. also note to 70. 278.

⁴ We must very likely assume that the military engagements described from v. 20 onwards, took place north of the Dumbura district, so that Parakkama's troops worked their way gradually to the frontier of Rājaratṭha.

in the garden and in the water, with dance and song and
 32 the like, fulfilling the duties of a king, and for the sake of
 the exertions¹ for the subjugation of hostile kings and for
 defeat of rebels, the Ruler was wont to follow the chase.
 33 Now one day the King together with the chief Mahesī, with
 34 ministers and retainers went hunting. When then the So-
 vereign beheld a big forest that had signs of being inhabited
 by game, he made the Mahesī take her stand on the one
 35 side and then had the whole forest surrounded by hunters
 with spears in their hands and nets and caused them to make
 36 a noise here and there. Now when an elk bull² large as an
 elephant calf, heard the frightful noise, he broke out of the
 37 forest thicket. Glancing in all sides, he roused by fear came
 running thence, plunging down the mountain slopes, leaping
 38 mountain gorges, cracking the tree branches, dragging cree-
 pers after it like a net, trampling down the brushwood in
 39 the forest, tearing asunder the outspread net, killing everyone
 he met or putting them to flight — thus he dashed straight
 at the Mahesī with the fury and the swiftness of the storm.
 40 Everybody who beheld him rushing onwards fled on all sides,
 overcome by fright, and left the Mahesī and the King in the
 41 lurch. When the King beheld the fearful stag approaching he
 ran towards him with terrible courage and hit him with hurled
 42 spear. Wounded by him, the stag lowered its head³ to slay
 the King, but shedding both its antlers, flung itself at his
 43 feet. The ministers, the hunters, the chamberlains, the bar-
 bers and the others hearing the cry that the animal gave
 44 forth after receiving its severe wound⁴, turning back, came

¹ In order to be capable of those exertions. I do not think that *vāyāmattham* is in a parallel position to the two *nisedhattham* as W. assumes, but that these latter are dependent on the former.

² P. *gokaṇṇamigo*, Sinh. *gōṇā*, Rusa Aristotelis, the Sambar, living in India and Ceylon.

³ Lit.: When by him (the stag), that had received the (spear) wound the head was lowered to kill him (the King), he fell . . .”

⁴ The MSS. have *laddhā pahāraṇ karaṇaṇ*. I have changed only the last word into *karuṇaṇ* “plaintive, pitiful”. The gerund is subject to the part. *ravato*. The Col. Ed. has *laddhā pahāraṇ karaṇā*, which gives neither clear construction nor clear sense.

together from all sides. When they beheld the two antlers and the lion-hearted Ruler they were full of astonishment 45 and overjoyed and happy, they filled the whole forest with the clamour of their loud praises. Ever and anon praising 46 the extraordinary bravery of the King, his great good fortune, his heroism and his manly courage, they took the 47 antlers and surrounding the King, entered the town which was adorned like the city of the gods, told the great digni- 48 taries of the astonishing events and showed all of them the two antlers. When the high officials heard of the miracle, they 49 came together and spake with one another with astonishment about the extraordinary occurrence: "Were this man with his 50 majesty born in Jambudīpa, he would become without doubt a world-ruling king". With these and words of like praise 51 they lauded his inflexible courage hard to surpass, and placed 52 the two antlers, having had an inscription put on them, in the treasure house where they are to this day.

When hereupon the Lord of men (Parakkamabāhu) heard 53 that the Ruler Gajabāhu had fetched nobles of heretical faith from abroad and had thus filled Rājaraṭṭha with the briers 54 (of heresy), wrath seized his soul and he thought: though people of my kind are there, possessing insight, virtue, miraculous power 55 and extraordinary courage, he has nevertheless acted thus — and he commanded his generals to take possession also of Rājaraṭṭha¹. With careful consideration of the works profitable for the 56 carrying on of war, such as the text book of Koṭalla², the Yuddhaṇṇava³ and others he, versed in the procedure of war, 57 worked out with ingenuity in a way according with the locality and the time, the plan of campaign⁴, wrote it down, had it handed out to the officers and gave the order: "Doubt 58 not that ye do a thing of great moment, if ye do but swerve

¹ In the same way as they had already conquered Malaya.

² For Koṭalla = skr. Kautalya see note to 64. 3.

³ I do not know a work with this title. Chapters 123—125 of the Agnipurāṇa are however called *Yuddhajayārṇava*. AUFRECHT, Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 219.

⁴ P. *yuddhopāyaṃ*. For *upāya* cf. note to 58. 3.

59 by a hair's breadth from this my instruction". They all received the words of the King with bowed head and went forth with large forces to open the campaign.

60 The Lord of men Gajabāhu had as chief of the umbrella bearers Komba, equipped with an army and experienced in
61 war. The latter had built a very strong fortress at the village of Mallavālāna¹ for defence against the foe and had long
62 had his dwelling there. The Malayarāyara who held the stronghold Vālikākhetta², fought with him, put him to flight
63 and took his fortress. Then the hero marched thence at the head of a strong force and came by ship on the water to
64 Muttākara³. The mighty one fought a great battle in the middle of the sea against the general there, in which the
65 enemy troops were scattered. He then fought even a second bitter action at the selfsame spot and sent many thousands
66 (of the foe) to (the god of death) Yama. The forces also of the Chief of the Kesadhātus, called Tamba, and other troops
67 destroyed the foe at (the place) Mālavalliya by name, and the officer in Moravāpi, Nīlagallaka by name, came to Kaṭiyāgāma and slew great numbers of the enemy⁴.

68 In the village of Kālavāpi Gajabāhu had the general known
69 by the name of Nagaragiri Gokaṇṇa⁵ stationed. He was

¹ The operations begin on the extreme left wing of Parakkamabāhu who evidently intends to cut off Rājaratṭha from the sea. Mallavālāna should therefore be looked for not far from the coast, somewhere about the mouth of the Kala-oya.

² Malayarāyara is a variant of Malayarāja (cf. note to 41. 35). Vālikākhetta is identified by COCHRINGTON (I. 71) with "Vellavela in Anarvilundan Pattuva near Battulu Oya". There is no Vellavela in the list of places in the Census of 1921.

³ "Pearl mine". What is meant are probably the pearl banks stretching from the south of Mannar to near Portugal Bay.

⁴ These fights take place, since Kālavāpi is mentioned in the sequel, west of this lake, about the Mi Oyen Egoda Korale. But the Moragasveva situated here can scarcely be identified with the Moravāpi named in v. 67. Moravāpi is also mentioned in 69. 8 and 70. 67, 72. 177 (see the note).

⁵ For Gokaṇṇa see above note to 66. 35.

gifted with high heroic virtues, in possession of a fitting army and train, skilled in war, a loyal and devoted adviser of his Lord. The general Rakkhadivāna of the Lord of men 70 Parakkama vanquished him in battle at the place Goṇagāmuka. The officer Gokaṇṇa grown lax through his defeat, after equipping 71 an army again suffered defeats at the fortress of Pilaviṭṭhika and at the fortress called Kasāllaka, at Taṭavāpika, at Jambukola, 72 at Vajiravāpi, at Nandivāpi, at Pallikāvāpi and at Kalalahallika, 73 after he had on each occasion offered battle¹. Then he thought: "My army that was formerly victorious even in battle with 74 the King², has now when it is double as strong, fighting with two or three officers of Parakkamabāhu at the border 75 of the kingdom, each time suffered defeat, and the leaders of the troops have fallen: now it is no longer capable of 76 fighting", and he sent a report of all that had happened to Gajabāhu. When the Ruler Gajabāhu heard all this, he took 77 counsel with his ministers and spake as follows: "Never for- 78 merly have we heard that we were defeated; now we have suffered a defeat and that was a great injury for us. Even 79 he who among my dignitaries was of special power and courage, has been vanquished several times in battle. Were 80 another misfortune to overtake him that would not be good for me". Having thus taken counsel with his ministers, he made ready abundant money, troops and troop leaders, as 81 also divers weapons and impenetrable armour and sent these off to Gokaṇṇa. The general Gokaṇṇa now made the army 82 sent by the king, his own former army as well as the army of the inhabitants of the country³ in all haste ready for 83

¹ The localities named in 70 to 73 must all be situated southwest or south of the Kalaveva, Goṇagāmuka probably farthest away (? Gona-gama in the Gantihe Korale south of Galgamuva). For Pilaviṭṭhika see note to 69. 10). Jambukola is probably Dambul, though CODRINGTON inclines to identify it with Dambagolla in Gangala Palesiya Pattuva, west of Elahera. The names Kasālla and Kalalahallika are met with also in 68. 48 amongst the tanks restored by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhina-desa.

² Cf. the defeat of Kittisirimegha by Gokaṇṇa in 63. 34.

³ The militia in contrast to the regular, standing army.

battle, advanced again to Nilagala¹ and fought a great battle
 84 with the general Māyāgeha. In this action many of his
 people fell or flung away their weapons and fled into the
 85 wilderness. It went so far that one was forced to say that
 nobody had escaped². He himself also left chariot and um-
 86 brella in the lurch and fled into the forest. From now he
 gave up the idea of fighting and stayed in Kālavāpi after
 building a strong fortification there.

87 Thereupon the officers stationed in the Sūraambavana³
 district pressed forward to Janapada and cut down the ho-
 88 stile army. The troop leaders who had been sent to the pro-
 vince of Bodhigāmapara entered Laṅkāgiri⁴ and destroyed
 the foe there.

89 The troop leaders at the head of whom stood the Na-
 garagiri Mahinda, were sent again by Parakkama to the
 90 district of Mallavālāna to fight⁵. He marched thither, drove
 back the mighty enemy, penetrated the province, conquered

¹ This is very probably the Nilagallaka mentioned earlier (70. 14 with note) or Nilagiri (70. 20) in Dumbura. Thus Gokanna, successful perhaps at the outset, had penetrated far to the south into the districts of Malaya which Parakkama's soldiers had already occupied (hence *puna!*), before he suffered his decisive defeat.

² Lit.: "there were none of such (*n'atthā*) who had gone after they had freed themselves". *Muccitvāna gatā* is a periphrastic formation akin to analogous Sinhalese expressions. Cf. Sinh. *palā-yanavā*, prt. *palāgiyā*.

³ Sūraambavana is manifestly a part of Ambavana, name of the region of the Ambanganga (see above note to 66. 85). Parakkama's officers thus press forward, pursuing the beaten enemy northwards through Ambavana Korale to Vagapanaha Udasiya Pattuva (= Janapada, note to 66. 110).

⁴ For Bodhigāmapara see note to 66. 78, for Laṅkāgiri now Laggala, east of Vagapanaha, note to 66. 80, CODRINGTON, I. 71.

⁵ According to 70. 60 ff. Mallavālāna had already been taken earlier by the Malayarāyara. There must have been a reverse in the interval in which the territory gained was again lost. As to this failure the chronicle is silent. Now after the victorious advance of the right wing the operations on the extreme left wing are begun again in the former way (see note to 70. 61).

it and brought it into safe possession. From there they all 91
 started off, gave battle at sea with many hundreds of ships
 and after seizing the general stationed there and (the Nor- 92
 thern Province) Uttararaṭṭha¹, they sent the pearls found
 there to their Lord. Thereupon the Monarch had a fortress 93
 built at the place called Pilavasū and made the troops take
 up their abode there.

When the Lord of men Gajabāhu heard of these events, 94
 he took counsel with his ministers and set about sending out
 troops. When Parakkamabāhu who well understood the (right) 95
 method, learned thereof, he sent the Laṅkānātha (Rakkha)²
 to the district called Janapada. At the tidings of this action 96
 the Lord of men Gajabāhu gathered his army together,
 divided his forces and sent in two directions an army equip- 97
 ped with armour and weapons — to the locality Janapada and
 to the fortress called Pilavasū. The Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha 98
 advanced thereupon at the head of a strong force for the
 destruction of the hostile army, to Ambavana³ and after cut- 99
 ting up in battle many foes at the village called Bubbula⁴,
 he put the army of the enemy to flight. The inhabitants of 100
 the country now made the roads difficult of access by hewn

¹ The MSS. are without doubt corrupt. But I cannot accept the reading of the Col. Ed. *tatratṭhaṃ daṇḍanāthaṃ taṃ muttā ratṭhaṃ balam pi ca*. It is too violent and arbitrary. I would far rather read with slight alteration, *tatratṭhaṃ daṇḍanāthaṃ ca* (— *thaṇca*, which differs slightly from the *-thaba-* of the MSS.) *ratṭhaṃ taṃ Uttaram pi ca*. Parakkama wants above all to get hold of Uttararaṭṭha, the province north of Anurādhapura, in order to cut off Rājaraṭṭha completely. Still better perhaps would be the emendation *ratṭhaṃ Muttākaram pi ca* especially in consideration of 70. 63. The translation would then run: "and after they had seized the general stationed there and the province of Muttākara".

² See 70. 24 with the note.

³ As according to 70. 87 Ambavana lies further south than Janapada, it must be assumed that Parakkama's troops who had already advanced to Janapada, had at first retired southwards, till Rakkha restored the balance.

⁴ Evidently Bibila in Vagapanaha Udasiya Pattuva, Matale North (Census of C. 1921, II, p. 102; H. W. COCHRINGTON I. 71).

101 down and felled trees and by thorny creepers and posted in
 ambush on the road, continued the fight. The Laṅkānātha
 102 determined to annihilate the foe, pursued them in every
 direction, broke even through the stockades and pushed for-
 ward delivering big engagements at divers places, to Janapada.
 103 After taking Janapada he following instructions of Parakkama-
 bāhu, built an entrenchment and took up his abode there.
 104 Thereupon King Gajabāhu sent the Laṅkādhināyaka Deva and
 105 Dāṭhābhāra by name to withstand him. The Laṅkādhinātha
 (Rakkha) thereupon delivered a great battle, defeated them
 106 and took Yagālla. The Lord of men Gajabāhu sent to the
 Ālisāra¹ district the so-called four companies² to renew the
 107 combat. The Laṅkānātha (Rakkha) likewise marched forth,
 fought with them, captured several alive and occupied Ta-
 108 lātthala³. King Gajabāhu sought now by a kindly gift to
 bring him under his influence and sent him abundant pre-
 109 sents, such as costly ornaments of jewels and divers garments
 110 of linen, silk and other stuffs as an offering. The general
 accepted the gifts, mutilated the envoys and sent presents
 111 and messengers to his Lord. When the King (Parakkama)
 saw that, he rejoiced greatly and sent him back the whole
 112 treasure and costly gifts (in addition). The general now left
 the fortress of Talātthala and took up a position in the
 113 stronghold of Āligāma⁴ at the side of the river. Thereupon
 Gajabāhu sent the general Sika and other skilful warriors
 114 with great forces to fight once more with him. They all set
 forth equipped with troops and train, surrounded the fortress

¹ The name is preserved in the modern Elahera on the left bank of the Ambanganga in Gangala Pallesiya Pattuva (Census of C. 1921, II. 102).

² *P. catasso parisā*, evidently the name of a particular troop which perhaps had its headquarters in the Ālisāra district or was recruited from the able-bodied inhabitants of this district.

³ Now Talagoda (CODRINGTON), somewhat above Elahera and also situated on the left bank of the Ambanganga.

⁴ H. W. CODRINGTON compares this with the modern Elagamuva which lies slightly above Talagoda but on the right bank of the Ambanganga. The Census of 1921 names both villages together in Gangala Pallesiya Pattuva.

(Āḷigāma) and rained down a hail of arrows. Several warriors 115 of the Laṅkādhinātha well armed, took up their position at the gate and began a terrific fight. The archers and other 116 combatants standing on the turrets of the gate, slew numbers of the foe with arrows, spears and javelins. In this way they 117 all carried on without interruption for three days a violent combat with great endurance and great strength. The troops 118 of King Gajabāhu determined above everything on the destruction of the foe, set about blowing up the main gates of the fortress. Thereupon the Laṅkādhinātha and his warriors 119 burst forth and cut down the enemy in combat as far as the opposite bank of the river¹. They made the water of 120 the river muddy with the blood of the foe and captured many troop leaders alive. After gaining the victory in the 121 battle, the Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha celebrated a great festival of victory in the castle, but the heads of the hostile officers, 122 the umbrellas, chariots and weapons and the captives caught alive he sent to his Lord.

Hereupon the Sovereign (Parakkamabāhu) summoned to 123 him the Senāpati Deva, told him all that the Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha had accomplished, and with the reflection that Ga- 124 jabāhu at the tidings of the defeat of his troops, would certainly send forth a great force to seize the general (Rakkha), he sent the far-famed army leader to the Giribā district² to 125 cut off the great force of the Lord of men Gajabāhu. The 126 shrewd (Deva) set out, having put his whole army into fighting trim and while occupying an entrenchment which he had raised on the bank of the Kālavāpi river³, he at the 127

¹ The Ambanganga flows at Elagamuva from S W. to N. E. It must be assumed that Rakkha had abandoned Talātthalī and that the enemy are advancing by Talātthalī = Talagoda to their new position at Elagamuva. To do this they must cross the river and are now driven back over it. Cf. below vv. 173 ff.

² Cf. note to 68. 49 (nr. 3) and 69. 8. Thus the expected pressure on the right wing is to be relieved by an attack on the left flank.

³ This is the Kala-oya, since the Kālavāpi tank is formed by the damming up of this river.

instruction of the King, threw a long, very fine, and very solid bridge across the river of the Kālāvāpi tank, passable
 128 by files of elephants, horses and chariots¹, held together with iron bands and nails, made of beams of timber and twenty
 129 cubits² broad. After leaving certain officers there, the Senāpati marched off and while delivering here and there heavy
 130 engagements in which he remained victorious, he reached a place named Aṅgamu³, built an entrenchment for fighting
 131 with the hostile army, and took up a position there. At the tidings thereof the opposing army erected an impregnable fortification at Senāgāma to ward off the Senāpati and took up
 132 a position there. The illustrious Senāpati now marched thither, fought with the hostile army and captured the fortification
 133 in Senāgāma. After the enemy had fought twice over and suffered defeat, they built a fortification in Manyāgāma and
 134 took up a position there. Thereupon the Senāpati marched thither and took the fortress of Manyā; likewise a stronghold
 135 in Mita and the fortress Sūkaragāma. He had new earthworks laid down in all these fortifications and leaving none
 136 of them unoccupied, he placed commanders (in them). The Senāpati having built a stronghold at Terigāma, made officers known as capable warriors take up their position there
 137 with troops. King Gajabāhu now sent his officer, the Nilagiri

¹ The Col. Ed. has *hatthassarathapattīhi* and W. translates therefore: "by elephants, and horses and chariots, and footmen". According to my MSS. I have felt obliged to read *-pantīhi*.

² The MSS. have in pāda b c *dārūhi āyatam vīsattīhatthavittatam*. Thus three syllables are missing. I have added a *kāritam* to *dārūhi*, for *kāress* seemed to me too far away to be joined with the instr. The Col. Ed. puts *āyatam* in pāda b and gives as length *divisatam* in c. Here again one would have to supplement a *hattha* from the following compound. Twenty cubits are nearly = 30 feet.

³ The name is preserved in that of the Ambagomuva tank which lies a little over 2½ miles to the north of the Kala-oya. The distance of Giribā from the southern bank is the same. The river is particularly narrow at the part between the two places and therefore probably easy to cross.

Rāma¹ and numerous troop leaders² to destroy him. They set forth all well armed with army and train and occupied an armed camp not far from Terigāma. From early morning the two armies began the battle with vehemence and continued it until evening. Now when the Nilagiri and his warriors, who were acknowledged to be brave, saw their troops yielding, they armed with their weapons, striking down the best soldiers, spreading panic amongst the foe, flung themselves into the midst of the army like lions amid a herd of elephants. But the warriors of the Senāpati (Deva) did not flinch in fight, but surrounding the Nilagiri Rāma and the many troop leaders on all sides, they slew them on the battlefield and captured the chief warrior Kaḍakkuḍa and other fighters alive. The Senāpati who had gained the victory in this battle, sent those captured alive to his Lord.

Parakkamabāhu who was staying³ quietly in the neighbourhood of the scene of heroic deeds now summoned in his shrewd way, the Nagaragiri Mahinda who was in his vicinity and told him of the extraordinary courage of those dignitaries⁴. When the latter heard that, his ambition awoke within him and with the words: I will set forth and take it, he pledged himself to take Anurādhapura shortly. With strong forces the foe-crusher set forth and delivered a great battle

¹ Here we must probably take *nīlagiri* as a title similar to *nagara-giri* (see note to 66. 35), *laṅkāgiri* (see note to 72. 27) and *lokagalla* (see note to 72. 222). The word however, occurs only in connection with Rāma and specially noticeable is the *Rāmanāmo Nīlagiriṭṭhito* in 72. 12. Cf. the note to this passage.

² P. *balapāmokkhe*. These are the *yodhā* of v. 140 and 143 c d, the *balanāthā* of v. 143 a. It seems to me that the leaders of the local militia troops are meant.

³ The Col. Ed. quite unnecessarily alters *nivasanto* into *nivāsattiham*. Then 145 a b would have to be joined to the preceding, and W. translates accordingly "sent the man whom he had taken alive to live in comfort with his master (Parakkama)". Now that is as regards content in the highest degree unlikely. S. and B. have not recognised that *parakkammanikaṭamhi* in a b contains a pun on *parakkamabhujo* in c.

⁴ Of Rakkha and Deva.

149 at the place called Badarībhāṭikamāna. Then when the il-
 lustrious one had fought a great action at the village of the
 150 name of Siyāmahantakuddāla and near the Tissavāpi reservoir
 not far from Anurādhapura, he surrounded by the multitude
 151 of his troops, entered Anurādhapura¹. When the Lord of
 men Gajabāhu heard of these events, he sent off several troop
 152 leaders accompanied by the highest dignitaries. They all armed
 for combat, raised a barricade round the town and cut off
 153 access to the road. Now when the Senāpati Deva heard of
 these events, in order to relieve the general besieged in the
 154 town, he set off in haste, delivered battle again at the village
 of Siyāmahantakuddāla and fought on the way three terrible
 155 battles. The Malayarāyara at the tidings thereof left his
 stronghold² and came hither after twice fighting a battle on
 156 the way. At the instruction of the Senāpati, he marched in
 the same direction³ and fought with the hostile army not far
 157 from Anurādhapura. The Senāpati also fought here and there
 a sharp action, pressed forward to the vicinity of Anurādh-
 158 pura and opened the combat here. At news of this the general
 Mahinda with strong forces suddenly made a sortie out of
 159 glorious Anurādhapura and overthrowing the foe and storming
 many barricades on the way, he quickly reached the Senāpati.
 160 United the army of the Senāpati and the army of Mahinda
 fought with the hostile army and once more put it to flight.
 161 The Senāpati returned to Siyāmahantakuddāla, set up a strong,
 entrenched camp and took up a position here⁴.

¹ Anurādhapura was probably also the objective of Deva's advance from the S. W. As Parakkamabāhu's headquarters must have been nearer to the centre of the whole theatre of operations it may be assumed that Mahinda was advancing on the town from the south, more or less on the line Galgamuva-Talava.

² He was stationed according to 70. 62—65, in the north-west, in Muttākara, at the extreme left wing.

³ P. *ekamukhena* (for the meaning of *mukha* in such a connection see 70. 217), i. e. with the same goal as the Senāpati.

⁴ For judging the military situation it is of importance that though Gajabāhu has won back Anurādhapura, the threat to this town and therefore to his right flank from the Senāpati Deva continues.

Parakkamabāhu now summoned the chief Māyāgeha to 162
 him and ordered him to carry on the war in Ālisāra. Full 163
 of joy the latter marched, accompanied by skilled warriors,
 built a fortification in Kalalahallika and took up a position
 there. At the stronghold of Nandāmūlakagāma he fought 164
 three actions and brought this castle into his power. Marching
 on Ālisāra, he captured the entrenchment at Kaddūragāma 165
 and after fighting once again, he then took also the fortification
 at the place called Kirāṭi¹. The army of the Lord of men 166
 Gajabāhu came hither to fight, and after throwing up an
 entrenchment at a place named Vilāna, it halted here. Now 167
 when Parakkamabāhu of valour hard to overcome, after
 occupying an entrenched camp at Nālandā², during his sojourn
 there, heard of this, he sent off secretly two or three hundred 168
 thieves practised in house-breaking³ and directed them to steal 169
 up to the entrenchment with sharp antelope horns in the
 middle of the night and to undermine it and so to take it.
 The chief Māyāgeha following this instruction, had the en- 170
 trenchment broken into and the enemy there seized. At the 171
 village of Mattikāvāpi he again captured an entrenchment,
 and at Uddhakuraṃgāma and Adhokuraṃgāma he likewise cap-
 tured two fortifications. After breaking through and taking 172
 an entrenchment at the village called Nāsinna, he brought
 the district of Ālisāra into his power.

¹ As the situation of Kalalahallika cannot be exactly determined, it can only be said generally of Māyāgeha's advance against Ālisāra = Elahera, that it apparently took place from the west, while Rakkha threatened it from the south. The mention of Nālandā in v. 167 agrees with this. H. W. CODRINGTON (I. 72) is inclined to see in Kirāṭi a slip of the pen for Sirāṭi = Hiraṭi, the name of a small river that flows from the left into the Ambanganga at Maluveyaya below Talagoda. The place Sirāṭi would then probably have to be looked for far up that river.

² Halfway between Matale and Dambul.

³ P. *saṃdhubheda*. The phrase *saṃdhiṃ chindati* means "to carry out a burglary". D.I. 52²⁴; M.I. 516⁶, II. 88⁷; *saṃdhičchedana* DhCo. IV. 34⁵. Likewise in Pkr., JACOB, Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī, p. 67^{9, 33}, 74³⁵ ff.

173 Now about this time the King (Parakkama), acquainted
 with the right method, gave his officers the order to take
 174 Pulatthinagara at once. The Laṅkādhinātha Rakkha and the
 Jīvitapottahakī¹ Sukha marched in haste from the Talākatthalī²
 175 entrenchment, fought actions at several places on the way
 with the hostile army and fought a battle at the place Ra-
 176 jakamatasambādha. Then after fighting in the region of
 Milānakkhetta and setting forth from there, fighting in the
 177 open field and slaying many of the enemy, they in pursuit
 of the foe, reached Daraaga, delivered there also an action
 178 in which they remained victorious, advanced then thence to
 Maṅgalabegāma³, broke through the entrenchment here by
 force and after annihilating the enemy, halted at this en-
 trenchment.

179 The ruler of Rohaṇa, the Prince Mānābharapa⁴, who had
 on several occasions fought with the officers of the Lord of
 180 men Gajabāhu and suffered defeats and losses, had at that
 time given up the idea of war and discouraged in heart, kept
 181 quiet. He had appeared in company with the bhikkhu order
 which dwelt in the three fraternities⁵, and entered into
 182 an alliance⁶ with Gajabāhu. But now when he heard
 that the officers of the Monarch Parakkama had waged war

¹ The title occurs again 70. 318 and 72. 161 (Mandin) and 74. 90 (Kitti). In our passage all MSS. (and also Col. Ed.) have °putthikī, likewise 70. 318.

² Rakkha had evidently after his victory at Āḷigāma (see above vv. 112 ff) again occupied Talātthalī (= Talagoda) and had halted here to await the operations of Māyāgeha. Their successful issue has safeguarded Rakkha's left flank and made possible the main thrust against Pulatthinagara.

³ For this place which is mentioned as the first station in the description of Parakkamabāhu's withdrawal from Pulatthinagara see note to 67. 53. Rakkha is now only about 10 or 15 miles from the capital.

⁴ Son of Sirivallabha and cousin of Parakkamabāhu.

⁵ See note to 60. 56.

⁶ P. *vasī karitasamdhāno*, lit: "he lived with G. as one who had concluded a friendly treaty with him".

with great forces against the Lord of men Gajabāhu and had 183
 in every battle cut down the enemy and carried off the victory,
 the Prince Mānābharaṇa reflected thus: "Assuredly King 184
 Parakkamabāhu who has vast resources at his disposal, will
 shortly take Rājaraṭṭha; but once Rājaraṭṭha is taken possession 185
 of by the Monarch, it will be impossible to remain in the
 province of Rohaṇa." He therefore gave up his treaty with 186
 King Gajabāhu and joined Parakkamabāhu with whom he con-
 cluded an alliance. The mighty one armed the able-bodied men 187
 amongst the inhabitants of his two provinces and occupied an
 entrenched camp at the village called Sobara.

At this time the King Parakkamabāhu, who wished to 188
 perform a deed of exceeding prowess, thought thus: "Without 189
 my officers who are stationed at divers places, learning of it,
 I shall betake myself with warriors of my immediate retinue¹,
 to Pulatthinagara, storm in combat gateway, turrets and bas- 190
 tions, force my way into the town and — hurrah — capture
 Gajabāhu." The clever one summoned to him the chief Māyā- 191
 geha who was stationed in Ambavana and told him what he
 had planned. Now in order to come to Ambavana under the 192
 pretext of another object and to reach Pulatthinagara from
 there, he spake secretly to him thus: "Send me a message to 193
 this effect: I intend celebrating a specially splendid festival
 for the Buddha. For making offerings unto the Buddha let
 Their Lordships send me the sacrificial objects, the shells, 194
 the five loud-sounding musical instruments, the fly whisks,
 the white umbrella and the flag streamers, and come thither 195
 and behold my festival." Māyāgeha betook himself to Amba- 196
 vana and after he had prepared for the festival, sent back the
 message in obedience to these words. When the glorious 197
 King beheld it, he rejoiced and after having had the message
 read aloud to the circle of his dignitaries, he sent off the 198
 sacrificial implements with all speed to Māyāgeha and gave his
 dignitaries to understand in every way that he himself meant
 to go. The highest (of the officials) who saw through the 199

¹ For *sahavaḍḍhita* see note to 67. 52.

King's intention, sent word to his brother, the Nagaragiri
 200 (Mahinda). When the latter heard of the affair, he left Mora-
 vāpi¹ and appeared in haste with his troops before the Ruler.
 201 To the question why he had come, he made reply that he
 had come because he had seen through the intention of his
 202 Lord, and he spake further: "For slaves such as I am, if they
 are in existence, the aim is solely the conquest of the hostile
 203 king. Therefore have I arisen and shall capture Gajabāhu
 204 with army and train and deliver him up to the Lord." With
 these words the King's officer craved permission to depart.
 205 When the ambitious chief Māyāgeha, the Lankādhinātha Kitti
 and many other powerful officers saw this they (likewise)
 206 besought leave and cried: I first, I first. Thereupon the Mo-
 narch who was skilled in plans of war, explained his plan of
 207 action and sent off his officers to begin the campaign. They
 all began to march with adequate² army and train and occu-
 208 pied an entrenched camp not far from Nālandā. Heavy clouds³
 formed and began to rain, cleaving the earth, as it were, on
 209 every side with the floods of water. When the Sovereign saw
 the clouds, he who loved the power of truth, fearing the army
 might become wet through, made the solemn declaration⁴ with
 210 this determination: "If the winning of the royal dominion is
 to serve only for the welfare of the people and of the Order,
 then shall the god not let it rain." And even so it happened
 211 there. Thereupon he sent food prepared in vinegar, bananas,
 crushed rice and the like and all kinds of cakes in great
 212 quantities (to the troops). In order that many people could

¹ Mahinda had thus taken up his position here after being relieved by Deva. For the situation of the lake see notes to 70. 67, 72. 177.

² I take *yogga* to be the adjective "fitting, corresponding". W. on the other hand, regards it as substantive with the meaning "conveyance, carriage", since he translates "with their chariots and men and waggons". But in this case it seems to me that *yogga* and *vāhana* would form a barely tolerable tautology. See also above v. 23, 69 &c.

³ In my edition I have kept more closely to the MSS. Now I should prefer to adopt the emendation of the Col. Ed. *mahāmegho*, as otherwise there is no suitable subject to *vasitum ārabhi*.

⁴ P. *saccakiriya*. For this term see Mhvs. trsl. p. 125, n. 3.

drink water at the same time, he sent several thousand bamboo
 staves in which holes had been made, which were hollow¹ 213
 throughout and in which one, after filling them with water,
 had closed the holes². The dignitary Mahinda now marched 214
 with strong forces and took the stronghold at the place called
 Lahulla, after slaying the enemy. At the news of this the 215
 Laṅkānātha (Kitti³) also started in haste, took the fort at the
 place called Hattanna and cut down the foe. When the chief 216
 Māyāgeha heard that he marched in haste with large forces
 and pushed forward as far as Khaṇḍigāma. The four-membered 217
 army⁴ of the Lord of men Gajabāhu was hemmed in on three
 sides in the narrow pass of Khaṇḍigāma. The son of the 218
 Laṅkādhinātha (Kitti), Laṅkāpura⁵ by name, a great war hero,
 came to the Khaṇḍigāma pass⁶. He brought the whole of 219
 the forces which had come from three directions into one
 direction and pursued them, the great war hero, as a lion a
 herd of elephants. Thereupon the troop leaders with the 220
 Laṅkādhinātha (Kitti) at the head, after killing a great mass
 of troops of the Lord of men Gajabāhu, advanced to the place 221
 called Koddhaṅgulikakedāra. The troops of Gajabāhu reached
 Pulatthinagara in disorder.

When the Lord of men Gajabāhu saw his great army 222
 enter, he thought, since pride had awakened mightily in him,

¹ P. *ekarandham*. For the meaning cf. skr. *randhravaṃśa* "hollow bamboo." (BR. s. v.)

² Not only the openings above and below, but for the transport of the water, also the holes bored lengthwise for drinking.

³ It is clear from v. 205, that the Laṅkādhinātha mentioned here is Kitti.

⁴ The four members (*aṅgāni*) or elements of the army are: elephants, cavalry, chariot warriors and infantry.

⁵ This must be the Daṇḍanātha Laṅkāpura mentioned so often later, (76. 82 ff.). But otherwise *laṅkāpura* is a title. Thus Kaḍakkuḍa 1., 72. 39, Rakkha 1., 75. 70, Deva 1., 75. 130.

⁶ A Kandegama lies in the Negampaha Korale, northwest of Dambul-Jambukola. If this is our Khaṇḍigāma, it must be assumed that Gajabāhu in order to hold up the advance of Kitti and the other generals, undertook an attack on the left flank. The assault is parried by Kitti's son.

223 thus: "When my father, the Monarch, entered into the com-
 224 pany of the gods and when as yet no stability had been
 Sirivallabha, advancing from two sides with the intention of
 225 making war on me, but they were unable to behold my
 victorious banner and fled, since then they have their whole
 226 life long given up the idea of war. Now I have achieved
 stability in Rājaraṭṭha and I possess a complete, four-membered
 227 army. If now, equipping army and train, I advance to fight,
 228 what king will be able to hearken to my war drum?" Thus
 swollen with pride, King Gajabāhu ordered the dignitaries of
 229 his immediate retinue to put the army in battle trim. After
 they had placed in readiness well armoured elephants and
 horses proved in battle and large masses of troops of capable
 230 warriors, armed with the five weapons, further also the
 mercenaries of the Keraḷas, Kappātas, Damiḷas, and the like,
 231 the dignitaries at once informed the King. With a strong
 force the latter left glorious Pulatthinagara and reached the
 232 place called Sikaviyala. The troop leaders with the Laṅkā-
 dhinātha Rakkha¹ at the head offered battle there to the Lord
 233 of men Gajabāhu. The great heroes broke through the (ranks
 of the) elephants and horses, unhorsed their riders and put
 234 to flight the Ruler of men together with his army. The King
 withdrew in haste to his town, had the gates locked and hid
 235 himself in a sewer². In pursuit of the King the soldiers (of
 Rakkha) arrived, surrounded Pulatthinagara on all sides and
 236 began to break through walls, turrets and bastions, and the
 237 spies who were stationed in the town opened the gate. They
 entered with ease, captured the Monarch Gajabāhu alive and
 238 brought him to the palace. The Princes Coḷagaṅgakumāra
 and Vikkantabāhu they fettered and threw into prison.

¹ According to v. 177-8 of our pariccheda, Rakkha was stationed at Maṅgalabegāma.

² The translation is only guess-work. The idea seems to be to express something derogatory to Gajabāhu. The word *manurā* is otherwise unknown. W. has Anurā, but this is no doubt wrong. It might of course have also been *āmanurā*.

Thereupon the dignitaries informed their master of what had 239
 taken place. When the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) heard that,
 with the insight which grasps the right method, he sent with 240
 the message: until we see one another under an auspicious
 star thou shalt live free of all fear of me — costly garments 241
 and perfumes and ornaments, articles of his own use, to Gaja-
 bāhu. The officers and the heads of districts hereupon took 242
 counsel together and sent the following message to the Mo-
 narch (Parakkamabāhu): "So long as the King (Gajabāhu) is 243
 alive, the people dwelling in the kingdom will not submit to
 thy sovereignty: he must therefore be put to death." When 244
 the Monarch heard that, his heart was moved with pity, and
 he thought: the king must in no case be put to death. He 245
 fetched the clever Senāpati Deva who was stationed in Senā-
 gāma¹, and spake to him as follows: "If the heads of districts 246
 and the officers, grown insolent by their victory in fight, slay
 the King (Gajabāhu) whom they have captured, that is not
 right. And if they plunder the town and ill-treat the people 247
 and become unbridled, that is likewise not right. The gaining 248
 of the royal dignity takes place for the welfare of the Order
 and the people alone, but not for the purpose of slaying the
 Monarch does it happen. Therefore thou must go there, hold 249
 the unbridled in check, take the King under thy protection
 and make the town secure." Thus with this charge the King 250
 sent away the Senāpati²; the latter marched with the army
 and betook himself to Pulatthinagara.

Meanwhile already before the departure of the Senāpati, 251
 unbridled, low-minded people disregarding the commands of
 the Lord of men, had broken open the house doors in 252
 Pulatthinagara, plundered goods and stolen raiment and
 ornaments of the people. Splendid Pulatthinagara afflicted 253

¹ The place is mentioned above in v. 131 and 132 in connection with the operations of Deva. But according to v. 161 Deva had finally taken up a position at Siyāmahantakuddāla. Thus he must in the meantime have altered his position.

² P. *rājindo senindaṃ* with pun: "the lord among kings (sends) the lord over the army."

by the soldiers was at that time (in wild agitation) like the sea, when at the end of a world age it is lashed by the storm. Enraged at such action, all the people who dwelt in the town, the officials and the councillors, the townsmen and the troops gathered together, betook themselves to Mānābharapa, told him of the events and spake as follows: "Ye must come with us, we shall take to ourselves the royal dominion and make it over to you. Only help must be brought so us." Also the officer Gokaṇṇa, who was stationed in Kālavāpi, sent a messenger to him (with the request) to come speedily. When the Monarch Mānābharapa heard the whole tale the imprudent one took counsel with his foolish ministers. He thought: under the pretext of setting free the King, I will arise, slay the enemy and get hold of the whole of Rājaraṭṭha. He equipped in haste the able-bodied men among the inhabitants of his two provinces and marched together with the officials and the forces hailing from Rājaraṭṭha, to the town, delivered there a bitter action and cut down the whole army large as it was, without remnant. Then the Monarch went up to the palace and visited the Ruler of men Gajabāhu, showing him the customary reverence. Hereupon in order to remove the fears of this Lord of men and of the dwellers in his realm, he let some days pass, then he slew the whole of the officers of the Monarch Gajabāhu, took the King captive and threw him into a dungeon. Then when he had seized everything, all the elephants and horses and the wealth in the treasure house, in the belief that his dominion was now assured, he fetched the sacred Tooth Relic, the Relic of the Alms-bowl, his mother¹ and all his wives from Rohaṇa, and himself void of all pity, the foolish Prince, took counsel secretly with his mother and his officers thus: "The troops in Rājaraṭṭha, so long as this King is in life, will never submit; therefore he must be slain. If we were to kill him openly, there would be a great tumult,

¹ Sugala, the granddaughter of Vijayabāhu I. who also later on plays a leading part in the wars between Rohaṇa and Parakkamabāhu. The tooth relic (*dāṭhādhatu*) and the alms-bowl relic (*pattādhatu*) have already become the palladium of the kingdom.

therefore this Monarch must be slain in secret." He had the 270
 King ill-treated with bad food and a bad couch and set about
 putting him to death by poison. King Gajabāhu could not 271
 stand the ill-treatment he received from the Prince Mānābharaṇa.
 He sent secretly to Parakkamabāhu and let him know: "I see 272
 no other help for me save through thee. Therefore without 273
 delay revive thou me who am tortured with the fiery torment
 of pain, by the rain shower of pity." When the King (Pa- 274
 rakkamabāhu) had rightly heard all these words of the King
 (Gajabāhu) he who was a fount of pity, was filled with the
 greatest distress. He thought: it is fitting that I, since he 275
 has suffered on my account this great wrong through Mānā-
 bharaṇa, should free him from his misfortune, and although 276
 his forces and his implements of war had been lost, he being
 of the breed of great men, let not his courage sink, but chose 277
 from among the people of his retinue capable men, granted
 them offices and showed them great distinction. To the chief 278
 Māyāgeha he granted the office of *adhikārin* and that of a
*laṅkādhikārin*¹ to the *Sanṅkhanāyaka*² Kittī. Of the two brothers, 279
 the generals³, the prudent Monarch conferred on the elder the
 rank of a chief of the *Kesadhātus*⁴, on the younger that of 280
 a *nagaragalla*⁵. He granted to both great distinction and
 numerous troops and thus won them for himself.

After the prudent (Prince) had in this way, in a short 281
 time equipped a large and strong force he sent it in divers
 directions. To the place with the name of *Vacāvāṭaka* in the 282
 Merukandara district he sent Rakkha, the Chief of the *Kesadhātus* 283
 with his troops, to Maṅgalabegāma the *Laṅkādhikārin* Rakkha,

¹ The title *laṅkādhikārin* seems to denote a higher rank than *laṅkādhināyaka* etc. (see note to 70. 24); for Kittī on whom the former title has just been conferred as a distinction, was up till now (cf. 70. 205) *Laṅkādhinātha*.

² The title *saṅkhanāyaka* (here *saṅkhaka*°) occurs again in conjunction with Nātha (72. 31, 75. 75) and Rakkha (72. 41).

³ The *daṇḍanāyaka* *bhātaro* who are mentioned several times, are called according to 72. 162, Kittī and *Sanṅkhadhātu*.

⁴ See note to 57. 65.

⁵ The same as *nagaragiri*. See note to 66. 35.

the Laṅkādhikārin Kitti to the locality called Kyānagāma,
 284 but the two brothers, the generals, the Ruler sent with
 285 large forces to the village of Tīṇimakkula¹. To the Senā-
 pati Deva shut up in Pulatthinagara, the Monarch then sent
 286 his house-breakers, fetched him hither², gave him a great
 army, like to the army of the gods, and sent him, aware of
 287 the right method, to Gangātaṭaka³. All of them as they were
 appointed for the various districts, marched forth with their
 troops, plundered here and there on the road leading to the
 288 town, struck off the heads of the foe, spread great panic, cut
 off the grain supplies and thus harassed the people in the
 289 town. Within and without Pulatthinagara the soldiers⁴ sta-
 tioned for that (purpose) slew (the enemy) and put him to
 290 flight. No people now left the town for wood or leaves
 291 through fear of the wholesale pillage⁵. By blocking at va-
 rious points the road leading from Rohaṇa, they also stopped
 292 the traffic for the people dwelling there. All the people shut
 up in the town with King Mānābharāṇa were like weakened
 293 birds in a cage⁶. The two brothers, the generals, hereupon

¹ Of the localities here named besides Maṅgalabegāma (see above notes to 67. 53 and 70. 178) Merukandara (41. 19, 44. 28 etc.) occurs as a safe refuge in Malaya for the pursued and Kyānagāma (72. 207, 264) in another connection. They all lay probably at no great distance southwest and south of Pulatthinagara.

² But cf. the note below to v. 289. As to the "burglars" (*corā*) see 70. 168.

³ The modern Kantalai, the name of a big reservoir on the road from Dambul to Trincomalee (cf. W. note to the passage). Deva had thus the task of attacking the capital from the north.

⁴ From this verse it must be assumed that Deva's whole force had not left the town, but that at least a part had remained behind, perhaps in the citadel, in order to work with the troops coming from outside. How W's translation can be brought into harmony with the traditional text I fail to see.

⁵ The acc. *sabbaṃ* is governed by the first part — *viṭumpana* — of the following compound, a construction not rare in the *Ālvaṃsa*.

⁶ The Col. Ed. reads *khittā pakkhino viya pañjare*; the MSS. all have as far as I can see, *khinnā* or *khinṇā*. Cf. 72. 209.

engaged in action with the chief Kontadisāvijaya¹ and after 294 fighting with the force under the command of the Laṅkā-dhinātha Bodhi, they pursued (the foe) to Pulatthinagara. The Chief of the Kesadhātus (Rakkha) who was stationed at 295 the village of Vacāvāṭaka, fought an action with the general called Uttama; he gained the victory, advanced to the village 296 called Nāla, fought here with the general of the name of Buddhanāyaka² and was victorious. The Adhikārin³ Rakkha 297 who was stationed at Maṅgalabegāma, then fought with the enemy and took the place called Hattanna⁴. The same fought 298 at Khaṇḍigāma⁵ full of bitterness, with the Adhikārin Nātha and put him and his army gloriously to flight. When the 299 Sovereign Mānābharapa heard that, he marched with his warriors to Māsīviyala to fight with him. At the same time the 300 Adhikārin Kitti who stood in Kyānagāma, and the Senāpati Deva in Gaṅgātaṭāka, and the two brothers, the generals, who 301 stood in the village of Tiṇimakkula, also went forth to fight with large forces. Slaying or routing all the foes who faced 302 them, they pressed forward in a short time from various sides to Pulatthinagara, drove away the soldiers who were 303 stationed round the town to protect it, set free the Ruler Gajabāhu and brought the wives, the children and the mother, 304 as well as the whole fortune of King Mānābharapa into their power. The Lord of men Gajabāhu set free from these, fled 305 at once and betook himself in haste to Koṭṭhasāra⁶. When 306 the Monarch Mānābharapa who was fighting with the Laṅkādhikārin Rakkha, heard of all these events, he was struck 307

¹ It is possible that the name is Konta and disāvijayanāyaka a title. The man is not otherwise mentioned.

² I assume that here *nāyaka* or *nātha* is not the title "chief" or "general", but belongs to the name. Cf. 72. 266 *Buddhanāyakanāmena*. See also 72. 171, 270.

³ An abbreviation of laṅkhādhikārin; See 70. 283, 72. 37 etc.

⁴ Cf. 70. 215.

⁵ Cf. 70. 216-218. Thus all the places formerly taken which had been lost in the interval, are now recaptured.

⁶ See note to 61. 43.

by the arrow of pain which comes from the separation from the loved ones, and no longer caring for his life, he came again equipped with armour and weapons with large forces at night into the town and fought a great battle, thinking of naught else but the destruction of the foe. But when the Laṅkādhinātha Bodhi¹ fell fighting in the battle, he was unable to hold out longer in Pulatthinagara. He took the sacred Tooth Relic and the Alms-bowl Relic, his mother and his wives and betook himself to Rohaṇa.

Now at this time Parakkamabāhu left Buddhagāma², to set free the King, came to the neighbourhood of the town and after having a fine two-storeyed palace built, he sojourned with his army and train in the village of Giritāṭaka³. Now at that time some warriors of the Monarch (Parakkamabāhu) had betaken themselves, to recover from the hardships of the war, to the village of the name of Tannaru. Treacherous officers of the Ruler Gajabāhu without troubling⁴ themselves about the King, began suddenly a squabble with them. When King Parakkamabāhu heard that, he was wroth and sent his own officers to take Gajabāhu captive. The Laṅkādhikārin Kitti and the Senāpati Deva hereupon marched with large forces to the village of Tannaru. Fighting three times with the officers of the Monarch Gajabāhu a great battle, they destroyed numerous foes. The Nagaragiri Nātha and the Jīvitapothhakin

¹ See above v. 294.

² Thus his headquarters were here between Nalanda and Dambul. See note to 58. 43.

³ Now Giritāla beside the road leading from the Minneri lake (Maṇihīra) to Polonnaruwa, distant from the latter about six miles as the crow flies. Cf. BELL, ASC. 1905 (= SP. XX, 1909) p. 20.

⁴ P. *rājānaṃ piṭṭhito katvā*. Cf. for the meaning skr. *prasthataḥ kr* "to leave someone or something unnoticed, disregarded". BR. s. v. *prastha*. The King is Parakkamabāhu: His nearness does not disturb their pugnacity. Or the King may be Gajabāhu: The officers are "treacherous", because they attack the soldiers of Parakkamabāhu who at that time was Gajabāhu's ally and tried to rescue him. Parakkama considered, of course, Gajabāhu the culprit and held him responsible for the treachery of his officers.

Mandin¹, put the hostile army to flight at the village of Vā-lukapatta. And also at the village of Tannaru the officers 319 with their large force destroyed a hostile army that faced them, then marched farther, fought an action once more at 320 Kohombagāma and after slaying many, they broke down the fortification and captured it. Numerous well-armed foes sta- 321 tioned² at Ambagāma they put to flight and brought the fortress into their power. Thence they set off and after again 322 winning a victory at Tannitittha, they marched to Antara-viṭṭhi and beat the enemy here. At this time some officers 323 of Parakkamabāhu were in Pulatthinagara at the head of a large force. To fight with them there came officers of Gaja- 324 bāhu under the command of the Adhikārin Deva, but (they) suffered a defeat. In the same way they³ defeated numerous 325 foes at the place named Kālapilla and after cutting down the enemy, took up their position at Madhukavanagaṇṭhi. They 326 all started in haste and marched further dispersing themselves in different directions with the intention of seizing the King. When the Ruler (Gajabāhu) heard that the enemy widespread 327 on all sides, was approaching, he saw no other step that he could take; so the King sent to the congregation of bhikkhus 328 belonging to the three fraternities, settled in Pulatthinagara, the message: "I see for myself no protection save with the 329 venerable brethren; let them out of pity free me from my sorrow". When the bhikkhus heard these words, they started 330 off, their hearts moved with pity, for Giritāṭāka, sought out the Ruler (Parakkamabāhu), and after exchanging greetings, 331 they asked by the King the reason for their coming, spake the following conciliatory words: "The Exalted One to whom 332 pity was the highest, expounded many times in many discourses the misery of discord and the blessings of concord.

¹ These two officers have so far not been mentioned. For the titles see notes to 66. 35 and 70. 174.

² The gerund *saṃmayhitvā* is subordinate to the part. past *ṭhite*, as in v. 327 *avattarhitvāna* to the part. pres. *āyantaṃ*.

³ I. e. the troops of Parakkamabāhu.

333 Now the Ruler of men (Gajabāhu) has neither a son nor
 334 brothers, but he himself, being old, is near death. Thy pledged
 word that the gaining of the royal dominion has as object
 only the furtherance of the laity and of the Order will thus
 335 shortly be fulfilled. Therefore shalt thou give up the strife
 and return to thine own province, hearkening to the word
 of the bhikkhu congregation”.

336 Thus the King (Parakkamabāhu), hearkening to the words
 of the Order, gave up the kingdom gained with great trouble
 to King (Gajabāhu) and betook himself to his own province.
 Ha, how great was his mercy!

Here ends the seventieth chapter, called “The Surrender
 of the Royal Dignity”, in the Mahāvamsa, compiled for the
 serene joy and emotion of the pious.

CHAPTER LXXI

— — — — — 1

The Ruler Gajabāhu betook himself to Gaṅgātaṭāka, made it 1
his residence and dwelt there happily. But the Monarch Mānā- 2
bharāṇa sent gifts to him in order to remain allied with him
after the conclusion of a treaty. But the Ruler of men Gajabāhu 3
who desired no treaty with him, betook himself to the vihāra
by name Maṇḍaligiri². Here he had the words: "I have made 4
over Rājaraṭṭha to the King Parakkama" graven on a stone 5
tablet, returned then to Gaṅgātaṭāka and died during his so-
journ there, visited by a disease after reigning two and twenty
years. Thereupon the foolish ministers of Gajabāhu met to- 6
gether, betook themselves to Koṭṭhasāra, whither they had
the body brought, and after sending messengers to Mānābharāṇa 7
to come hither in all haste, they took up their abode there.
When the Lord of men Parakkama heard the news of the 8
King's death he equipped his army and came to Pulatthina-
gara.

The Monarch Mānābharāṇa in the province of Rohaṇa 9
listened to the words of evil-minded people who had come
with large forces from Rājaraṭṭha and thought: "If I make 10
these people my allies³, I shall certainly get possession of
Rājaraṭṭha." With a host of troops he left Rohaṇa and came 11
to Koṭṭhasāra swayed by wishes impossible of fulfilment. When 12

¹ Cf. below note to v. 32.

² See note to 46. 29.

³ The pronoun *ime* shows that these words are still part of the oratio
recta. W. includes them erroneously in the principal sentence.

the mighty Parakkamabāhu whose valour transcending the limits of thought was scarcely to be surpassed, heard of these events, he thought: "The gossip of worthless people from Rājaraṭṭha who have forsaken the Lord of men Gajabāhu, the dispenser of great favours, and his officers, and have given up the desire to fight, and not even master of the clothes they wear, fleeing from fear have come to him, the Ruler Mānābharaṇa has believed as if it were pure truth and has come forth to fight¹. My dignitaries will give him a defeat twofold as heavy even as that which the Lord of men Gajabāhu had to suffer. I shall not permit him to come to this bank of the Mahāvālukagaṅgā." And versed in preparations for war, the prudent one made his four-membered army with the officers take up their position at the different fords from Sarogāmatittha as far as Gokaṇṇa².

Now the great dignitaries who were of great wisdom, came together and with clasped hands begged of the Monarch the (holding of the) king's consecration. "Former kings, O Great King, have when they were victorious, in order to increase

¹ W. has neither understood the construction of the sentence nor its meaning. Verses 13-15 belong together. The subject is *Mānābharaṇa-bhūpati*. The principal verb is *āgañchi*. Subordinate to this is the gerund *saddahitvā palāpaṃ*. The gen. *dujjanānaṃ pavitthānaṃ* is governed by *palāpaṃ*. Subordinate to this participle again are the gerunds *cajītvā*, *patvā*, *palāyitvā*. The four missing syllables in 13 c I have supplied in a similar way to the Col. Ed.

² The Mahaveliganga is evidently regarded here in its whole course from the mountains up to its mouth as the frontier between Rohaṇa and Rājaraṭṭha. A happy discovery of H. W. CODRINGTON'S I. 68 was the identification of Sarogāma with the modern *Vūgamuva* (Sinh. *val* "pond, lake" = P. *saro*) in Laggala Pallesiya Pattuva (Census II, p. 100) at a short distance from the left bank of the stream. Here evidently the Hembarave crossing was to be safeguarded. It seems to me curious that the Veragantota crossing at Alut-nuvara is not mentioned. It lies 13 miles higher up and is much used now. The bed of the Mahaveliganga is however subject to great changes. *Gokaṇṇa* I regard as the Bay of Trincomalee (Koddiyar Bay), or the spot where the Mahaveliganga flows into it. This explains the mention in 41. 79 of a *Gokaṇṇakamahāṇṇava*.

by every means the fear and affection of their subjects and 21
 to show forth everywhere their own abundance of glory, per-
 formed the king's consecration, even while they were still
 at the seat of war. A ruler fully equipped with political 22
 wisdom and self-discipline, must ever pay heed to the keep-
 ing up of good ancient custom. Thine age, your majesty, is 23
 youthful, but thy glory is irresistible and scarce to be sur-
 passed the fulness of the courage of thine arms. Thy blossom- 24
 ing fortune¹ would be capable of wielding sovereign power²
 over the whole of Jambudīpa, let alone the island of Lankā.
 From the first age of the world to the present day thy line 25
 was pure as milk poured into a white shell: hence on a 26
 favourable day must be performed the king's consecration
 which must of necessity bring happiness to the whole world."
 King Parakkamabāhu who overcame evil by the wrinkling of 27
 his brows, granted the request, he the best of the wise³, and 28
 on a day proved auspicious by a favourable constellation he
 placed the crown on his head, arrayed in all his jewels. And, 29
 though he received the tidings that the Ruler Mānābharaṇa
 had come to this bank of the stream, he heeded that as little
 as grass, and laid his armour and his weapons near at hand 30
 in a jewel maṇḍapa which he himself ascended. Then in 31
 gorgeous procession he left his palace, marched round the
 town with his right side towards it, like a fearless lion,
 stunned with amazement by his splendour the thronging people, 32
 and returned to the royal palace which was an abode of
 bliss⁴.

¹ So I translate *kusalodaya*. It is very nearly the same as the favourite *puññodaya*. See 37. 139.

² P. *vibhutta* = skr. *vibhūta*.

³ P. *pavivekin* from *paviveka*, a term suggestive of the Sāṅkhya System, in which *viveka* is the expression for the discerning knowledge through which deliverance is attained. GARBE, die Sāṅkhya-Philosophie, p. 137.

⁴ S. and B. have assumed that here we have the end of *pariccheda* 71 and at the same time a gap of unknown extent. The signature at the close of the whole chapter describes it as the 72nd, thus number 71

is missing completely. In my edition I have adopted this view and have begun the verses of the new section with the number 1. I must point out however, that as far as the contents go, a gap is scarcely to be noticed. The coronation festival is evidently at an end with the return to the palace. Perhaps it was hastened by Mānābharāṇa's advance. On the other hand Parakkamabāhu had already made preparations for the war according to v. 17-18, by occupying the various fords, and now the attack begins at the first of these places, at Sarogāma. W. thinks that all that is missing is the artificial strophe (together with the signature) which is customary at the close of a pariccheda.

CHAPTER LXXII

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE
CONSECRATION

Now the Mahālekha¹ Mahinda approached with a great 1
army and fought a great battle with the mighty Kesadhātu 2
Rakkha who was stationed at Sarogāmatittha. The Kesadhātu
Rakkha by name, the mighty one, slew like a lion that has 3
broken into an elephant herd, many of his men in combat
and drove the Mahālekha before him as a fierce storm wind
blows cotton, he the mighty him together with his army and 4
train. When then the latter crossing by the ford of Talanī-
gāma, was fain to renew the fight, the Kesadhātu Rakkha 5
put him again to flight after a sharp encounter with him.

In like manner the Kesadhātu named Buddha², having fought 6
with the (enemy's) many officers a terrible battle and having 7
slain many warriors, defeated and put to flight the Ruler
Mānābharapa who offering battle had crossed the river at the 8
Pūnagāma ford. He also took care that he (Mānābharapa)
gave up the idea of ever approaching this ford again.

The chief Māyāgeha³ who was appointed to guard the 9
ford called Samīrukkha⁴ alone at the head of his officers in
the same way crushed Gajabhuja who with his army had 10
crossed that ford with the object of fighting.

With the Māragiri⁵ Mattatāla by name, who with his 11
army came with the intention of crossing the Mahārukkha

¹ See note to 52. 33.

² This officer of Parakkamabāhu's is not otherwise mentioned.

³ In 70. 83, 162 etc. described as *Māyāgehādhinātha* or °*adhināyaka*
here simply *Māyāgehanāyaka*.

⁴ Name of a tree = skr. *śamī*, acacia suma. Corresponds to *sāma-gas*
in modern Sinh.

⁵ The title *māragiri* occurs again 72. 164, 174 (Nigrodha m.)

12 ford¹, Rāma² by name who was stationed in Nilagiri which
 was his own district, in his extraordinary courage, fought a
 13 bitter engagement and after capturing the best soldiers whom
 he could get alive, he put the rest of the army to flight so
 that it no longer dared to go into action.

14 Another officer who guarded the Nālikeravatthu³ ford
 fought then a battle against a hostile army who had ap-
 15 proached to fight, cut down many soldiers and scattered the
 rest of the army without remnant on all sides.

16 Another distinguished officer who was appointed to the
 ford called Anantarabhaṇḍaka for the guarding of it, drove
 with a large force a strong army of the hostile king that had
 17 advanced to fight, together with its officers to the last man,
 to the four winds of heaven, whereby the hero turned the
 18 battlefield into a mass of flesh, just as the storm wind
 (scatters) a mountain of cloud so that its violence is scattered
 flutteringly on all sides⁴.

19 Again another high officer appointed to guard the Kāṇa-
 tālavana⁵ ford, saw to it that the hostile army that had come
 20 forward to battle, gave up all thought of resuming (the
 enterprise) after he had fought a great battle with his whole
 army and train.

21 The Adhikārin, Kittī⁶ by name, who was stationed at the

¹ "Ford of the great tree" or "ford of the euphorbia" (skr. *mahāvṛkṣa*, as borrowed word in Sinh. with the same meaning). The corresponding Sinh. word *māruk* means however, coco-nut palm. W. H. CODRINGTON recognises the locality in Marake situated five miles below Hembarave on the left bank of the Mahaveliganga.

² Cf. note to 70. 137 where *nīlagiri* seems to be used as a title. When in our passage Rāma is described as *saratthavāsiko* that seems to point to the fact that the ford protected by Rāma was situated in the district which was controlled by him or which was his birth-place, and that the name of this district was Nilagiri. The title which is applied exclusively to Rāma would then in this case be borrowed from the name of his home (*nīlagiriṭṭhita*).

³ "Coco-nut palm plantation."

⁴ P. *saṁanta-ābaddha-saṁrambhaṁ*. For *saṁrambha* "violence" cf. PTS. PD. s. v. ⁵ "Palmyra palm wood of the blind."

⁶ See 70. 278, where the advancement of Kittī to the rank of *laṅkādhikārin* (here in short *adhikārin*) is mentioned.

Yakkhasūkara¹ ford after destroying many soldiers in a bitter fight², defeated there a hostile body of troops that had approached for combat. Now while he stood at the same ford he had in consequence of a scarcely to be evaded command of the Great King Parakkama, to betake himself to him while he entrusted (another) high dignitary there with the guarding of the ford. This man also three times crushed a hostile force that came hither and took care that it lost all courage to fight once more.

The Jitagiri³ Santa stationed at the Vihāravejjasāla ford, completely annihilated a great army that was about to cross, the army, namely, of the hostile king, fighting with him a terrific battle with mighty army and train.

The Ādipoththakin⁴ by name Kittī, stationed at the Assamaṇḍala⁵ ford with a large force, the Laṅkāgiri Mahī⁶ by name, with a strong army, and yet another large army cut up a hostile army that had approached, and returned then with speed each to his appointed place⁷.

¹ H. W. CODRINGTON is certainly right in identifying this name with the present *Yakkure* (Census 1921, II, p. 438). It lies on the right bank of the river and at the entrance of the Sahassatittha crossing mentioned so frequently later, now Dastota, south of Polonnaruva.

² P. *katvā kathāsese*, lit.: "after making them so that only the tidings (of them) remained."

³ The title, if it is such, which I think probable, only occurs in this place.

⁴ The title which is only borne by Kittī (also 72. 160, 207) alternates 72. 182 with *bhaṇḍārapoththakin*. It therefore designates the superintendent of the royal store-rooms.

⁵ If the name preserves the memory of the legend related Mhvs. 10. 53 ff., then we must look for Assamaṇḍalatittha at Kacchakatittha now Mahagantota, east of Polonnaruva.

⁶ W. takes Mahīnāma for the name of the officer, which is quite possible. The title *laṅkāgiri* occurs again 72. 124 f., and 76. 250 in conjunction with the names Nātha and Sora.

⁷ The verse is incomplete in the MSS. Nine syllables are missing in ed. The Col. Ed. supplies these rather differently to what I do, so that to translate with W. it would be "and returned to the king". The meaning seems to me to be that the three divisions of the troops were

29 (Other) warriors crossed the bridge of the Sakkharālaya-
 30 gaṅgā¹, at once penetrated the grove called Sākkunḍa, and
 having there in fight deprived numerous warriors of life, they
 took from the foe the desire to attack once more from this
 quarter.

31 Hereupon the Saṅkhanāyaka by name Nātha, stationed at
 the Sarogāma² ford, after he had shattered an army of the
 32 hostile king come hither for battle, crossed the stream him-
 self at the village of Vāṭiyamaṇḍapa, cut up a strong hostile
 force and returned again to his post.

33 In the same way a large army stationed at the Samī ford
 cut up a strong hostile force which had marched for battle
 34 in this direction and chased away its desire to come again.
 A strong royal army that had its stand at the ford called
 35 Cullanāga annihilated in like manner the whole large force
 of the hostile king, that equipped with armour and weapons,
 36 marched in this direction. At Burudatthalī the two brothers,
 the generals, scattered a hostile army that had advanced in
 this direction.

37 The Adhikārin³ Rakkha by name, who guarded the ford
 38 Nigunḍivālukā, the great hero, free from all fear, destroyed
 a strong hostile force fain to cross, by carrying on the ever
 39 renewed war for two months. In the same way the Lankā-
 pura⁴ known by the name of Kaḍakkunḍa, a great hero, fight-

posted at different places on the river, and that they only united in
 order to carry out the attack on the advancing hostile army, which
 was probably superior to the single divisions. Cf. v. 32.

¹ D. JAYARATNA has compared Sakkharālaya with the present
 Akurala on the S.W. coast of Ceylon, midway between Ambalangoda
 and Hikkaduva. If this is correct then the above passage gives us a
 very different theatre of war. Mānābharana would not merely have
 attacked along the Mahaveliganga, but also in the extreme southwest.
 This does not seem to be very probable.

² According to v. 1 and v. 9 fighting had already taken place at the
 two crossings mentioned in v. 31 and 33. The generals of Parakkama-
 bāhu now seem to take the offensive at these two fords.

³ As above in v. 21 *adhikārin* stands here for *lankādhikārin*.

⁴ See note to 70. 218.

ing a severe action at Yācitagāma, scattered the raging army 40
of the foe, destroying it root and branch, the courageous
(scattered) the discouraged (army), the mighty the hostile
might.

The Saṅkhanāyaka Rakkhaka stationed at Hillapattakakhaṇḍa 41
crushed a hostile army that came to fight there. Another 42
great dignitary entrusted with the care of Tittthagāma, after
undertaking a great battle¹ and fighting a bitter action, put 43
to flight with his great army a royal army that had advanced
to fight, so that it lost the courage to renew the fight.
Another powerful (officer), stationed at Nandigāma, fought a 44
great battle and scattered the raging army that had advanced
thither.

At the place Hedillakhaṇḍagāma the Senāpati Deva when 45
Prince Mahinda came on with strong forces in order to fight, 46
delivered battle against him four times with army and train 47
in fighting trim. He covered the battlefield with the skeletons
of the hostile warriors and robbed the Prince of his troops
without loss to his (own) army and train, followed him at 48
his heels as he took flight with his army and pushed on at
once as far as the ford called Billagāma. There for two months 49
terrible combats were waged. Even in his position there the
Senāpati put the army of the enemy to flight.

A high officer stationed at the ford called Mālāgāma², 50
undertaking five times³ the festival of a great battle, scattered 51
a mighty hostile army that had come there to cross over, as
the rising sun (disperses) the mass of the darkness. Another 52
high officer appointed to watch the Goḷabāha ford, a man of

¹ P. *samāraddhamahāyuddhakaccho*. The translation is very difficult. W. translates thus "began the strife with the enemy with great vigour when he essayed to make his way through is". But I think one must judge the passage in connection with v. 50 *āraddhamahābhavasamussavo*. Possibly *kaccha* here is not skr. *kakṣā*, but *kathya*.

² A *Malagomuwa-veva* lies midway between Ambanganga and Mahaveliganga, 12 miles N. E. of Elahera. A ford named after it would have to be looked for not far from Yakkhasūkara.

³ P. *dasaddhavāram*, thus not "ten times" as W. translates.

53 great strength and courage, routed in action a hostile force
with its officers who advanced to fight, as a lion a herd of
54 gazelles. Another officer stationed at the ford called Dīpāla,
dispersed with his troops in combat the forces which had
advanced there.

55 The course of the war¹ being such, the Great King
Parakkamabāhu who in his terrible courage was like King
56 Duṭṭhagāmaṇi thought: "Not even in Rohaṇa will I permit
King Mānābharāṇa who is here crushed in war, so find a hold."
57 And the energetic (Prince) ordered the two Kesadhātus, Devila
and Loka, who were stationed in the district of Mahāniyyāma²
58 and in Pañcayojana³, the Kammanātha Ārakkha⁴ and the Kañ-
59 cukināyaka⁵, utterly warlike men, to enter Rohaṇa. And at
his command these doughty men fared forth thence even as the
four great kings⁶ at the (command) of the King Sakka.
60 Hereupon having reached the district called Navayojana⁷ and
61 having celebrated with the strong hostile army there twenty
times the main festival of a main battle and having cut up
62 the great army, they captured Navayojana. They then marched

¹ By the successful combats at the fords along the Mahaveliganga the defence seemed safeguarded. Parakkamabāhu now on his side takes the offensive in the southwest, from Dakkhinadesa, thus with the clear intention of outflanking the enemy's left wing. The success is at once seen in the relief of the pressure on the line of the Mahaveliganga. Mānābharāṇa is forced to withdraw a part of his troops from there. It is true, a reverse soon takes place, on the one hand through the revolt of Nārāyaṇa in Anurādhapura and on the other by the enemy succeeding in crossing the river at an unguarded spot.

² Only mentioned here. A Maniyangama lies in the Panaval Korale not far from Avisavella. So also CODRINGTON (II).

³ Now Pasdun Korale, the territory to the east of Kalutara.

⁴ A Kammanāyaka Añjana is mentioned 72. 206, 74. 168. I think therefore that the first part of *ārakkhakammanātha* contains the name.

⁵ "Chief of the chamberlains". The Kañcukināyaka mentioned here is the Rakkha named so often 75. 20 ff.

⁶ The four mahārājas are the four protectors of the world, the *lokapālā*: Yama, Varuṇa, Indra, Kubera.

⁷ Now Navadun Korale, the territory S. and S. E. of Ratnapura.

thence and came to Kālagiribhaṇḍa¹. After fighting with the army there twenty battles, they brought it likewise into their power, advanced thence farther and took likewise Dīghālīka-mahākhetta². When the Ruler Mānābharapa received tidings of these events he divided his own army and sent a part thither.

Now at one time a great dignitary who had the care of Anurādhapura, the general Nārāyaṇa, in his delusion reflected thus: "I will bring this province into my power, build a fortress and remain there independent of the kings." When the Lord of men Parakkama heard of the matter he thought: "I will destroy him without letting him take root." In all haste the hero sent forth the Chief of the umbrella bearers. As a lion of incomparable courage (falls) upon small gazelles or even on elephants, so the great dignitary set forth, gave battle to Nārāyaṇa, slew him along with his army and set the province free from the briers (of the rebels).

As the known fords at that time were everywhere guarded by the high dignitaries of the great King, as if they were under the dominion of rakkhasas, Mānābharapa was not able to cross them, but he passed over at an unknown ford which was made known to him by dwellers in Rājaraṭṭha who had come under his influence³. Now when King Parakkama-

¹ Identified by CODRINGTON (II) with the Kalugalboḍa-raṭa of the Kaḍaim-pota by which is understood the mountain country of the present Korales Kukulu, Atakalan, Kolonna and Moravak.

² As in 75. 60 and 75. 50 *Dīghālī* and *Mahākhetta* are mentioned separately we have to do in this passage with the coalescence of the names of two apparently adjoining localities, just as with Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa in 75. 98, 146. CODRINGTON (II) looks for Mahākhetta at Paraduva, 11 miles N. N. W. of Matara, since here there are extensive rice fields on the right bank of the Nilvalaganga. Mahākhetta means "large field". On the opposite or left bank there is said to be a long canal. This might be the *Dīghālī* = Sinh. *dik-āla*. I should however expect both these localities to be farther east. AYTTON has in fact compared Dīghālī with Dikvela, east of Matara situated on the coast.

³ W's translation *gatehi vasam attano* "who were faithful to him" is inexact.

73 bāhu heard of this event he thought to destroy him along
 with his whole army at the crossing of the river, occupied
 74 a stronghold at the place Mayūrapāsāna and sent off the
 Adhikārin Rakkha, surrounded by many soldiers, a man of
 75 extraordinary bravery, with a strong army and train. But
 this man in his great envy could not bear the great favour
 76 which the pleased and grateful King Parakkama showed to
 his enemy, the Senāpati Deva, after the great battle fought
 77 by him. He bore resentment to the great King and was not
 zealous in the war. Groaning in the fever of his jealousy he
 78 was careless and developed no energy. Now an officer of the
 Lord of men Gajabāhu, a crafty man who had obtained from
 79 the Monarch Parakkamabāhu freedom from punishment, had
 gone with Rakkha. He rightly guessed his mood and as he
 80 had formerly given counsel to King Mānābharaṇa, so now
 he sent quickly to King Mānābharaṇa the message to come
 81 in all haste before the fortifications were begun¹. When the
 Monarch Mānābharaṇa heard these tidings, he entrusted his
 82 army with warlike enterprises at different places². The Prince
 Mahinda marched to Vallitittha and fought with the officers
 83 of the Senāpati Deva. These killed there many warriors in
 bitter fight and vanquished in one moment the Prince, the
 84 powerful the powerless. The King himself fought a great
 battle with the Adhikārin Rakkha in which sparks flew from
 85 the clash of swords. Many doughty warriors perished there
 on both sides, finally the followers of the Adhikārin Rakkha
 86 were scattered. Thereupon this man with his own hand alone

¹ All MSS. have *sāsanaṃ* twice over, first in pāda a then in c. The Col. Ed. has altered the second into *āsannaṃ*. I could not adopt this emendation. It is not impossible that it is a case of carelessness on the part of the compiler. But if there is to be an alteration, I should suggest reading instead of *sāsanaṃ* in c *sampatam* "now" = skr. *sāmpratam* (in contrast to *pageva* in 79 d). The unusual form — one says generally *sampati* = skr. *samprati* — in conjunction with the preceding *pesesi* may have occasioned the erroneous *sāsanaṃ*.

² He wants in this way to conceal his action against Rakkha and make it impossible for Parakkamabāhu's other generals to come to his aid.

continued the combat and fell himself after slaying many a good soldier. When King Parakkamabāhu, that man of terrible courage, heard of this event he thought with smiling lotus face: "As long as I am there what matters it whether they are alive or dead? The lion seeks not allies when he tears elephants in pieces. Even to-day I shall fulfil in combat the long awakened wish of my two arms which are filled with lust of battle. This earth ravished by intercourse with many kings who plotted only evil, will I bathe in the water of the blood of the limbs of my foes and then make her at once my spouse purchased by combat¹. For heroes such as I am she forms in her whole expanse but a hall². How can any other power aid me, perhaps as a firebrand the sun in extinguishing the mass of hostile darkness?" After reflecting thus he came to the battlefield comparable to the fifth sun³ in the great ocean that was for him the army of the hostile king. Arrived he tarried there hearkening to the singing given forth by numerous songstresses, feeling out the underlying motif, as one who is first⁴ among those versed in the knowledge of moods.

¹ There is no need to depart from the reading of the MSS. *paṇi-katam*. The word belongs to skr. *paṇa* "trade, purchase", *paṇi* "trader". The allusion is to the old custom of purchasing the bride.

² The meaning seems to be this: It is to me a matter of indifference at what place I celebrate my marriage with the earth — this is of course a symbol for its dominion. In what place so ever I begin the combat there is a fitting chamber (*sālā*) for the festival. He then goes on to show why he can at once perform the ceremony. He needs not to wait for outside aid, for in comparison to him it would be as a firebrand to the sun.

³ W: "alluding to the seven suns that are said to rise in succession at the destruction of the world, the fifth drying up the waters of the deep" (note).

⁴ The compiler shows here his knowledge of the Indian Rasa doctrine. Every work of art, poetry like music, must have its special *rasa*, its underlying motif. Theory distinguishes eight, nine or ten of these. The most important are: *śṛṅgāra* "love", *vīra* "heroic mood", *bhayānaka* "horror engendering" and *hāsyā* "merriment arousing motif".

95 Against the hostile army¹ with which was the Monarch
 (Mānābharāṇa) approaching in pursuit of the scattered great
 96 army, the great dignitaries of the Great King Parakkama hasten-
 ed forth and fought with it a terrible battle near the village
 97 Badaravallī. Although the victorious army (Mānābharāṇa's)
 was scattered, they nevertheless after themselves fighting the
 great battle and suffering heavy losses in combat, but having
 98 also slain many soldiers — beat a retreat exhausted, and wended
 their way to their own country. Now the great army of the
 99 foe displayed redoubled energy. Parakkamabāhu left those
 who had received wounds, to the care of physicians. He
 100 gazed smiling merrily at the fleeing army. The dignitaries
 who had bidden their bearers² turn, he forced with stern glance
 101 and wrinkled brow to go back. The bearers he sent himself
 against the hostile army, and in order to hold high festival
 102 for the meeting with Lakkhī i. e. the foe³, and to send a clever
 maiden herald, his sword liane⁴, to the field of battle, he,
 wishing to begin the feast of war, called to the bearer of his
 103 hand weapons: Give me the Sihala sword! Now when this
 man out of ignorance brought as Sihala sword the weapon

¹ W. has not rightly understood the context. The gerund *anubandhiya* does not belong to the subj. *mahāmaccā* but is subordinate to the part. past *āgatāya* in 95 c. Mānābharāṇa is pursuing the defeated troops of the Adhikārin Rakkha. His army is therefore called *jayasenā* in 97. Then he is met by Parakkamabāhu's generals. On account of the great losses they suffer, they have to retire. Parakkama tries to prevent an absolute collapse. His generals Rakkha Kesadhātu and Nātha (v. 107) restore the balance for the time being. There follows finally however, the general retreat to Pulatthinagara.

² Their palanquin bearers. For the high officers the palanquin was the method of transport also in the field.

³ The alteration of *veri°* into *vīra°* in the Col. Ed. is wrong. The image is again borrowed from a wedding (cf. v. 90-91). As in wedlock the man becomes master of the woman, in this case Lakkhī, the goddess of fortune and victory, so in battle the victor of the foe. The picture here is quite different to that of 72. 112 according to which the corrections of S. and B. have evidently been made.

⁴ In Skr. literature also the sword or the blade is compared with a liane. The combination *khaḍgalatā* (as here P. *khaggalatā*) occurs frequently in the Kathāsaritśāgara (BR. s. v. *latā* 1 c).

called the Jambudīpa blade¹, he spake: "That is not the 104
 Sihala blade. Leave this (sword) that could put an end to
 all the lines of hostile kings in Jambudīpa and bring me
 quickly the Sihala blade²". Now when, after these words, 105
 they handed him the terrible Sihala blade the King thought
 again, full of pride, he who was an elephant for the binding
 of elephants³, namely the foe: In Sihala-dīpa I am unable to 106
 grasp the weapon with my arm, and looked significantly⁴ at 107
 the face of the Kesadhātu named Rakkha standing near him
 and in that of the Nagaragiri Nātha. And these twain car- 108
 ried out the hint of the King and flung themselves with the
 courage of lions into the midst of the great (hostile) army.
 The twain seemed in consequence of their incomparable bra- 109

¹ P. *Jambudīpapātava*. We may take for *pātava* without scruple the meaning "sharpness, edge, blade". Skr. *paṭu* means "sharp, cutting" and *pātava* is the abstract noun, derived from *paṭu*.

² We have here in the MSS. a sloka of 6 pādas and what follows becomes badly confused if we do not accept it. In the present case it is certainly possible that it arose through a later interpolation of the line *Jambudīpamhi nissesaverirājakulantakaṃ*.

³ What is thought of here is the capture of wild elephants. When the herd has been surrounded and enclosed in the corral tame elephants are brought in with whose aid the wild elephants are chained.

⁴ I have interpreted the passage wrongly in my edition where I have tried to put *sāvadhāraṇaṃ* in the oratio recta with the meaning "with the exception (of my arm)". That is too forced. W's translation "that there was not a man who could even place in his hand a (proper) weapon" is also quite impossible. The text has literally: "in Sihala-dīpa with my arm unable to take the weapon, so thinking..." Thus the subject to *asamattho* is missing. It can only be *ahaṃ* "I". With the oratio indirecta this can be clearly seen: he thought he was incapable etc. The idea is this: At sight of the sword the King has scruples whether he should use the Sihala sword on the island of Sihala, that is in civil war against Sīhalas. He looks therefore *sāvadhāraṇaṃ* at his ablest generals, handing over the task to them. With undoubted skill Dhammakitti manages the transition from the heroic pose which he has ascribed to the King, to the real state of affairs and the later conditions in which the King is no longer the first among his soldiers, the leader of the army, as in the heroic age of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, but makes his generals carry out warlike enterprises according to his instructions.

very like thousands in number appearing in the midst of
 110 the battlefield. From morning until far into the night they
 fought a great battle terrible by reason of the bodies of
 111 hostile soldiers hewn in pieces by sword strokes. With folded
 hands the great dignitaries then informed the King: "Shattered
 112 is the whole great army, we few people alone are left. But
 even in our small number, O Lord of men, fighting a great
 battle, we have not let the luck of heroes (away from us)
 113 turn to the other side. As if from fear of the sight of the
 combat the sun has hidden himself behind the western mount.
 We will return¹ to Pulatthinagara and take up to-morrow
 the destruction of the foe. Now is not the right time²."
 114 When the King heard that, such action found no favour in
 his sight, as he desired to spend the night on the spot and
 115 renew the combat in the morning. Now the King void of
 all fear, gave himself up to slumber for a moment during
 116 which the dignitaries brought him to Pulatthinagara. Now
 when at midnight they came to Pañcavihāra, the King awoke
 117 and asked what name the place had. When the Lord of men
 heard from the people that it was Pañcavihāra, he flew into a
 rage: "That ye brought me hither while I slept was wrong of
 118 you". But as he wished to take every single one of his
 119 retinue without exception with him, he remained there. He
 filled the village with the din of the five loud clanging shell
 trumpets³ and after he had himself (awaited) his retinue that
 120 had not yet appeared, (and) surveyed (them), he sent his
 train on in front, kept behind them himself and came when
 morning time was near to Pulatthinagara.
 121 When then the sun, the ancestor of his race, had risen,
 Parakkamabāhu who by his singular courage had the whole

¹ Important, as we see from this, as also from what follows, that the scene of these fights lay in the immediate vicinity of the capital.

² Again a śloka with 6 pādas in all the MSS. Here also there is the possibility of a later interpolation of the line *raṇadassanabhīto va līno atthacale ravi*.

³ These are the five musical instruments, of which one, the shell trumpet, is named as the most warlike.

world in his power¹, heard that at the ford called² Billa- 122
 (gāma) the Senāpati Deva and the Adhikārin, named Kitti,
 at the head of a great army had poured an uninterrupted 123
 rain of arrows on the Adhikārin of the name of Nātha³, on
 the Prince Mahinda, the Senāpati Sukha, the Lankāgiri 124
 Nātha and on others who had approached in that direction
 and who came with their army to fight; that they had rob- 125
 bed of life the Senāpati Sukha and the Lankāgiri Nātha
 along with many warriors and had pursued the Adhikārin 126
 Nātha and the Prince Mahinda who had fled with their troop
 divisions; that when they had penetrated far into the pro- 127
 vince, the whole army of the foe together with the troops
 belonging to the country had made the road impassable and 128
 hiding themselves on all sides had captured them⁴. At these
 tidings the foe-tamer (Parakkamabāhu) who took ever the
 greatest pleasure in doughty deeds, marched forth to relieve
 the generals. But here in order to persuade the Monarch in 129

¹ Verses 122 up to the beginning of 128 *tirokatvā gahesi* form one sentence (cf. however, note on 128), the content of the news which Parakkamabāhu receives next day and which must lead to an alteration of his decisions. W. has understood that. In my edition this is not made sufficiently clear (but cf. the emendations in vol. II). Because of the new tidings the King determines in the first place to relieve his surrounded generals. The action planned against Mānābharana is deferred.

² There had been fighting before at this ford (see 72. 48) under the Senāpati Deva who had pushed forward there from Hedillabhaṇḍagāma in pursuit of the defeated Mahinda.

³ Mentioned above in 70. 298.

⁴ The construction of the whole sentence is not correct in the original. The subject is changed as happens in the latest parts of the Cūlavs., chiefly in sentences with many gerunds: in the first place *Devasenādhināyako Kittināmādhikarī ca* is the subject, then *sakalā arātivāhinī*. The construction would be right if it ran: *Devasenādhināyake Kittināmādhikārini ca ... vattetvā ... pāpetvā ... anubandhiya ... pavitthesu, sakalā arātivāhinī ... gahesi*. Here the gerunds *vattetvā* &c. would be subordinate to the past part. *pavitthesu*. The word *gahesi* refers only to the encirclement by which Deva and Kitti have lost their freedom of action.

whom had awakened the resolve for combat, to return, the
 130 great dignitaries with folded hands spake to him: "Save thy
 exceeding great ability, scarce to be surpassed, O Lord of
 131 men, we have no further might left; and the inhabitants of
 the country are all under hostile influence. We must betake
 ourselves from here to Nandamūla and from there begin the
 132 fight". With these and like representations they induced the
 Lord of men to turn back; they started from there and set
 133 out with the King on their way. When the retainers native
 to the country stationed in Nandamūla, beheld the Monarch
 134 approaching with few followers they began to rain from
 all sides a hail of arrows. The Ruler who had halted at
 135 the place called Karavālagiri¹ sent thence certain dignitaries
 acknowledged to be excellent warriors and brought it to pass
 136 that that division of the army gave up its desire to fight. While
 thus the great hero, the Ruler, sent on his retinue in advance
 and followed after on the march, he came to Jambukola.
 137 Starting thence to relieve the Senāpati Deva, he came on the
 march to a place named Navagāmapura.

138 At that time the Senāpati Deva and the Adhikārin Kitti,
 because they had not obeyed the instructions given them by
 139 the Great King, lay exhausted there with their army. They
 had given up the fight and had fallen² into the power of
 140 the enemy at the village named Surulla. In order to persuade
 the Ruler (Parakkama) — who was advancing³ with the

¹ The Census 1921 (II. 296) has a Karavalagala in the Tittaveli-gandahe Korale, thus in the mountains east of Hiripitiya, 13 miles north of Kurunegala. But there are difficulties about identifying the two names. We expect rather a position between Polonnaruwa and Dambul. Cf. note to 72. 147.

² They are probably still surrounded by the enemy but have not yet capitulated. All we learn further is that Parakkama had to give up the plan of relieving them, as apparently their capitulation could no longer be prevented. Of their later fate we hear nothing. It seems however that they were freed or ransomed. The Adhikārin Kitti appears again 74. 90 ff. and the Laṅkāpura Deva mentioned 75. 130, 76. 250 ff., might be identical with the Senāpati Deva.

³ P. *vibhajitvā nijārakkhāya*. The verb *vibhajati* seems to be used

strong intention of rescuing his generals — to turn back, they sent him the following message: "We have fallen here 141 in the midst of Mahāraṭṭha¹ into the power of the enemy; but our Lord has no other means of power than his extraordinary courage. Even the country folk have turned away 142 from us and are on the side of the foe. But if there are Lords of exceeding ability, then there is no doubt that 143 by uniting the ocean-girt earth under one umbrella they are heedful of the furtherance of the laity and of the Order. We 144 to whom this boon belongs, in consequence of which we shall have the comfort of again beholding the lotus flowers of thy 145 feet, shall be set free by the protector of the castes and of the hermitages². But (now) thou must give up thy resolve to come hither." When the Great King heard that, the far-seeing one 146 perceived that even before his march thither ruin would ensue. Entreated by all his dignitaries with folded hands the discern- 147 ing one turned and betook himself to Vikkamapura³.

here in a quite peculiar meaning "to be intent upon something". The literal translation of v. 140 would be "they, wishing to cause to return the Ruler who advanced, being intent upon their own protection, sent the message . ." The meaning of the message in this: Give up the plan of rescuing us now. We know that a great king like you will finally gain the victory, and then we will be set free and again join your retinue.

¹ Cf. note to 72. 147.

² P. *vaṇṇānaṃ assamānaṃ ca* is here synonymous with the usual *lokasāsana*.

³ The actions described vv. 121-147 are not easy to understand. The reason probably lies in the fact that the narrator gives as short an account as possible of a series of catastrophes which overtook Parakkamabāhu and which led to complete reversal of the situation. As regards the encirclement of Deva and Kittī in the first place, one would have expected it from the account to have taken place somewhere in hostile territory, in Rohaṇa. What does not agree with this is that the starting-point of the relief should be Jambukola, whether we understand by this Dambul, which I think the more likely, or Dambagolla (note to 70. 72) west of Elahera. The generals themselves speak in v. 141 of Mahāraṭṭha. But that is according to v. 163, a district bordering (eastwards) on the Kālavāpi, if indeed the *mahāraṭṭha-majjhe* in v. 141 altogether contains a proper name, and not an appella-

148 Now when the high dignitaries learned that the Monarch
 149 Mānābharapa had come with his whole army to Pulatthina-
 149 gara and again marching thence had reached the place called
 150 Giritatāka¹ and other matters, they informed the King truth-
 150 fully according to the facts, as they had heard them, and
 151 also that the army had been here and there destroyed in
 151 fight. They reported further it would be best to march to
 Parakkamapura² or even to the village called Kalyāṇi³ to
 gather together the army there and then begin the war
 152 again. But when the lion-king heard that he answered in
 the fire of his wrath, discernible in the fume of his wrinkled
 153 brow⁴: "For the fearful I have no use, they may go where
 they like. Men like myself possess a great army in the
 154 courage of their arms. From the King of the gods down-
 wards I know none in the three worlds capable so long as I
 155 am in life, of crossing the frontier of my realm. A hostile

tive "in the midst of the great province" (i. e. Rohapa). The final result of all the military events is clear. Parakkamabāhu is forced to give up Pulatthinagara and Rājaraṭṭha and to retire to Dakkhinadesa. The first halt is at Vikkamapura. The position of the town can be pretty well fixed. It is mentioned v. 263 in connection with Kyānagāma which in its turn occurs next to Maṅgalabegāma, thus not far distant from Pulatthinagara. Vikkamapura must thus have been situated in Janapada. Is it perhaps the name for the town belonging to Sihagiri?

¹ As Giritatāka (now Giritala), lies about 7 miles W. N. W. of Pulatthinagara, Mānābharapa has thus occupied the capital advancing from E. or S. and now advances without delay against the hostile front at Vikkamapura.

² The building of Parakkamapura is first described later 74. 15. It was probably a case of rebuilding on an older site. Should the town be looked for at the Parakkamasamudda, the reservoir Paṇḍavāpi? See 68. 40 and note to 60. 50.

³ Now Kelaniya at the mouth of the Kelaniganga not far from Colombo. The officers thus advise giving up the fight entirely for the time being and retiring to Dakkhinadesa.

⁴ The reading of the MSS. gives no sense. In my edition I have followed the Col. Ed. But I should like now to suggest: the reading *bhūbhāṅgadhūmavīṇṇeyyakopaggi paccabhās' ato*. This keeps more closely to the text of the MSS., assumes merely the change of a single letter (*v* into *s*) and gives the expected sense.

prince can force his way into the realm ruled by me as little
 as a king of elephants into a lion-guarded den. Who would 156
 not become a hero when my glance falls on him? If I so
 will, boys who still drink milk will fight. In two or three 157
 months I shall no longer permit the Ruler Mānābharaṇa to
 establish himself in his own province, let alone in Rājaraṭṭha.
 It is just for such an occasion which is quite hopeless that 158
 the worth of the courage of the arms of heroes of my breed
 holds good." In this way he made the discouraged courageous 159
 by speaking a self-confident word filled with heroic spirit¹.
 Then experienced in warcraft, he sent the Adhikārin Rakkha 160
 and the officer (Kitti) the Ādipotthakin², forth to take up a
 position³ at the village of Maṅgalabegāma. Hereupon after 161
 distributing dignities to people who deserved dignities, the
 illustrious one, versed in the right expedients, entrusted the
 Mahālekha called Rakkha and the Jīvitapothhakin Mandin, as 162
 well as the two brothers, the generals, Saṅkhaadhātu and Kitti,
 with a great army and he, the mighty one, sent it to Pillaviṭṭhi 163
 in Mahāraṭṭha which borders on the Kālavāpi tank to take
 possession of it⁴. Likewise the exceeding brave (Prince) placed 164
 the Māragiri Nigrodha⁵ in Uddhavāpi with an army. In order 165
 to carry on the war in this way in different directions he
 placed a strong army with officers at various places.

Now the troops stationed in Janapada, skilled in the game 166
 of war, offered battle and put to flight at the locality called
 Janapada, the Mahālekha called Mahinda who had come hither 167
 to fight at the command of Mānābharaṇa, so that his courage
 for a renewal of the conflict was broken. To the Lord of 168
 men, Parakkama, who while ever bringing forth all kinds of

¹ P. *virarasa*, see note to 72. 94.

² Cf. 72. 27 together with note.

³ The theatre of the war is very much the same as in the operations
 against Gajabāhu described 70. 281 ff.

⁴ For Mahāraṭṭha see note to 72. 147. The district is mentioned
 again twice (v. 190, 199). Pillaviṭṭhi is certainly identical with the
 Pilaviṭṭhika mentioned 69. 8 (see note to the passage).

⁵ See note to 72. 11.

meritorious works in profusion and, like to the King of the
 169 gods, enjoying diversion in divers games, sojourned in Nā-
 landā¹, the army sent a report of the events in accord with
 the truth.

170 Thereupon the officers stationed in Pillaviṭṭhi with the
 Mahālekha Rakkha at the head² fought for eight days an
 171 embittered battle with Buddhanāyaka³ and the general Mahā-
 172 māladeva stationed at Kālavāpi, slew many warriors, put the
 enemy to flight, brought Kālavāpi into their power and freed
 173 it shortly from the briers (of the foe). Then carrying out
 the instructions of the Lord of men Parakkama, they threw
 up an entrenchment and remained with the army on the spot.

174 The Māragiri Nigrodha stationed at Uddhavāpi, fought
 175 three times, scattered the hostile army and having fortified
 the monastery grove at the village called Tannaru, he took
 up a position there at the command of the Great King.

176 The Monarch Mānābharāṇa now granted to the Prince
 Mahinda a post of honour and a province of considerable
 177 extent and spake to him: "Take up, marching in the direction
 of Moravāpi, in order to conquer Dakkhinadesa, thy position
 178 with strong forces in Anurādhapura⁴. I will betake myself
 to Pallavavāla, to march in the direction of Buddhagāma⁵."
 179 Thus having sent him in advance with a strong army to fair
 Anurādhapura, he himself took up a position again at the
 same place⁶ in Rājaraṭṭha.

180 When the great councillors of the Great King who were
 stationed in Kālavāpi, learned that Prince Mahinda had betaken

¹ Nālandā was thus again Parakkama's headquarters as in the campaigns against Gajabāhu (see 70. 167, 207).

² See above v. 161 ff.

³ See note to 70. 296.

⁴ For Moravāpi see notes to 69. 9, 70. 67. From all the passages in which it is mentioned it is clear that it was situated south of Anurādhapura and west of Kālavāpi. Mānābharāṇa's plan is evidently to turn Parakkamabāhu's left flank in order to force him to withdraw his front which threatened Pulatthinagara.

⁵ See notes to 58. 43 and 66. 19.

⁶ It is only later that Mānābharāṇa goes to Pallavavāla (see v. 220); thus *tatth' eva* here probably means *Giritatāke* (s. v. 149).

himself with large forces to Anurādhapura, they at once, in 181 order to destroy him before he had taken root, entrusted the 182 Mahālekha Rakkha and the Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Kittī¹ with the charge there and marched themselves with army and train to the locality called Kāṇamūla, threw up an entrenchment 183 here and took up their position here after they themselves had left Kālavāpi. When the Great King Parakkama who 184 was skilled in expedients not to be thwarted, heard of this undertaking and had as expert examined it, (he told the officers): "As people who do not know the country, ye should 185 not without my order, penetrate into the innermost part of the district to take up the fight. Such a command he whose 186 commands were like those of Pākasāsana², far-seeing and discerning, issued repeatedly (to the officers). But they hastened 187 thither, neglecting the command of the King and believed in their folly that they would immediately seize Anurādhapura. The unhappy ones who themselves discovered not the object 188 and left the King's command unheeded³, came to the locality named Kaṭuvandu, ignorant of the localities and without the 189 right precautions, as if desirous of tasting the effects of their disobedience to the King's command. When they, carrying 190 out their ill-starred undertaking, had penetrated there, their followers dispersed themselves over the various places in Mahārāṭṭha. When the Prince Mahinda heard of the affair, 191 he held a council, surrounded them and began the combat, and owing to the faulty concentration of the army, the Prince 192 Mahinda scattered the whole of the forces on the battlefield. Completely beaten in this battle, the officers returned to 193 Kālavāpi remembering the neglected royal command. But the 194

¹ See note to 72. 27, as well as to 72. 196.

² P. *pākasāsana* = skr. *pākasāsana* is an epithet of the god Indra. The meaning attached to the word here is probably "whose commands become ripe, i. e. are fulfilled or carried out".

³ Verse 188 is mutilated in the MSS. as four syllables are missing. The text of the Col. Ed. differs from mine. W. translates thus: "and those among them who were not fortunate would not be advised by the king's message".

Prince (Mahinda) returned to Anurādhapura, collected in haste
 195 the division of the army belonging to his province and sent
 it off, as he intended taking Kālavāpi with large forces.
 When the discerning Ruler (Parakkama) received tidings of
 196 this, he sent in haste the Bhaṇḍārapotthakin Bhūta¹ thither
 to whom he gave a considerable army consisting only of
 197 skilled warriors. They all met there together and three months
 198 long the valiant heroes fought bitter battles day by day. Not
 neglecting the royal instructions the doughty ones fought a
 hard fight and (finally) shattered the four-membered army of
 199 Mahinda. They took Mahāratt̥ha which bordered on Kālavāpi
 and remained at the spot awaiting the command of the King.
 200 The Prince (Mahinda) made exultant by his afore mentioned
 crafty fight with the people who had transgressed the King's
 201 command, came on² himself in full armour. An officer who
 was stationed at Moravāpi not neglecting the instructions of
 202 the far-seeing King, distributed his followers on both sides of
 the road and as soon as the hostile army were completely
 203 inside (the ambush) he surrounded it on all sides, slew while
 204 delivering a terrific action, numerous high officers, vanquished
 the Prince and sent many heads of enemies slain on the battle-
 field to the King.

205 Hereupon King Parakkamabāhu, a man of terrible courage,
 gathered together³ his army which was distributed in divers
 206 places, and in order to drive the Ruler Mānābharapa out of
 Rājaratt̥ha, he placed the Mahālekha called Rakkha, the
 207 Kammanāyaka Añjana⁴ and the Ādipotthakin Kitti at Kyāna-
 gāma and sent the Adhikārin Rakkha to Maṅgalabegāma.

¹ The title *bhaṇḍārapotthakin* is also borne by Kittī. See 72. 182 together with the note to 72. 27.

² As the mention of Moravāpi shows, we have to do here with Mahinda's main thrust against Dakkhinadesa announced in v. 177.

³ By the victory at Moravāpi Parakkamabāhu has done away with the pressure on his left wing (cf. note to v. 177) and can now undertake his action against Pulatthinagara. As to the localities see 70. 281 ff.

⁴ See note to 72. 58.

Then he sent his train of hunters, robbers¹ and the like who 208
 were skilled in wandering by night in the wildernesses of
 forest and mountain, and had many people in divers places 209
 slain² by them by night and day. Like birds shut up in a
 cage³ the dwellers in Pulatthinagara for long dared not even 210
 by day leave their houses and go outside of the gate when
 they wanted supplies of water and wood. For the work for 211
 which they needed wood each robbed his house completely of
 its roof⁴ and so destroyed it. In the shops here and there 212
 on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were
 completely given up. As circulation in all the approaches to 213
 the town had been stopped by the King, the whole town
 trembled with excitement. Great harassment he caused to the 214
 King Mānābharana in that he vexed the town even to the
 royal castle. In his great distress the Ruler Mānābharana 215
 whose heart was sore weighted with cares, reflected thus:
 "If I would betake myself to my province of Rohana the 216
 inhabitants of Rājaraṭṭha who are there would not permit me
 to go thither, to show their affection for the Sovereign 217
 Parakkama, if by my taking flight they discover my weakness.
 But if I think it is right for me to stay here, that too for 218
 me is hard, since day and night I must suffer such hardships.
 The best thing for me is to fight a decisive battle with the 219
 foe and to suffer the fortune or misfortune that issues from
 it." After putting his large four-membered army in fighting 220
 trim, he betook himself, his loins girt for combat, to Pallava-
 vāla⁵. When thereupon King Parakkamabāhu, who possessed 221

¹ These were probably Vaddas who were in the king's retinue. *Kvāta* "hunter" is also used in Skr. to describe savage mountain tribes.

² Verses 205-214 form a single sentence which I have split up in the translation into its component parts. The principal verb is *akāsi pīlam* in 214 which governs directly three "that" sentences with *yathā* 1) v. 209 c-211, 2) v. 212, 3) v. 213. Then to *akāsi* belongs *ghātayanto* in v. 209 a and subordinate are the various gerunds in vv. 205-208.

³ The same simile in 70. 292.

⁴ Lit.: "they made it grassless", i. e. they turned the grass which served as roof into fuel and so ruined the whole house.

⁵ See above v. 178.

the courage of a lion, and (yet) was wont to act with reflection, heard of all these events, he sent off the Laṅkāpura, the two brothers, the generals, and the Lokagalla¹, after instructing them in divers plans of war, in three directions, as he, the prudent one, intended to separate² the hostile army that was marching hither from that direction. They betook themselves with large forces thither and spent a month delivering day by day a sharp action. In his double distress the Ruler Mānābharaṇa reflected thus: "I have left my entrenched camp and have come hither, desirous of fighting. There is no breathing freely for me; my misfortune is deep-rooted and grows at its pleasure day and night. Since I have come hither without tasting the good and the evil that were my lot in that wilderness³, I deserve this misfortune hard to be borne. And an attempt to come thither⁴ again? That is also hard to carry out, since hostile forces are posted at different places on the main road. Here in this place where we are so confined, I may not tarry, since the hostile army is marching from every side towards the centre. I will inquire of people well acquainted with this part and will march forth by some little known way which they tell me of." Thus having asked the inhabitants he betook himself by a way told him by them to the village of Konduruva⁵. Thereupon the Adhikārin Rakkha who, carrying out the command of the Great King, had taken up a position at the village named Mihiraṇabibbala, had stakes made like spearpoints and had them bound together driven into the ground in such a way that they were not even to be shaken by elephants. Then

¹ The Laṅkāpura is Kaḍakkuḍa (72.39). Who is meant by the Lokagalla we do not know, but the word occurs also as title in 75.138.

² P. *vimukhaṃ kātukāmo*. I take *vimukha* here in the meaning of "turned in different directions".

³ By the "wilderness" (*vana*) he means his former country, Rohaṇa with which he ought to have been satisfied.

⁴ Namely to Rohaṇa.

⁵ There is a Konduruveva S. W. of Giritale, W. S. W. of Pulatthinagara.

outside (of these) he had strong stakes of still greater size driven in, so that there was no gap and had them interwoven with wattle-work of branches. Then in the middle (between 235 the two rows of stakes) he had a trench dug twenty to thirty cubits broad for a distance of a hundred lengths of a man¹. There he placed sharpened stakes and² thorns and also in 236 the ground lying outside he had sharpened sticks driven in and a hedge of thorns put up, tightly closed and unbroken 237 and between these a trench dug as before. There also he 238 placed sharpened sticks and thorns and outside of the hedge he had a trench dug which reached to the underground water³. There also he again placed pointed stakes and thorns 239 and outside of the trench he had the big forest felled at a blow over a tract two or three bowshots in extent, as well 240 as great pits dug beyond this tract on the robber paths⁴. Here again he placed everywhere sharp thorns, had them 241 covered on all sides with sand and withered leaves, and pre- 242 pared (everything) in such a way that at first glance it looked like a passable road. Then in order to destroy without remnant the hostile army when it approached this way, he 243 had robber paths made in every direction and posted sharp shooting archers on them. In the middle of the stockade he 244 built a structure⁵ of four storeys and distributed archers about it at divers places. But in order to entice hither the hostile 245 army (from where it was marching), he sent out two or three thousand archers who understood shooting by the flash of

¹ The "cubit" (*ratana*) equals 17. 82 inches. Thus the breadth was about 30 to 45 ft. a "man's length" (*porisa*) is about five cubits, that is 89. 10 in. So the length of the trench measured 740 to 745 ft

² I should now prefer the reading *ca* instead of *va*. Also in what follows the stakes always appear along with the thorns. It often happens in the Cūlav. that *ca* is not enclitic, but stands between the objects which it connects. Cf. v. 238 b.

³ Thus I interpret *odakantika*. We must assume that it is derived from a skr. *udakānta*, *audakāntika*. W's view is probably the same.

⁴ What is meant are the footpaths leading through the wilderness.

⁵ *Pāsāda*. The passage is characteristic of the general meaning of "structure" given to the word *pāsāda*.

246 lightning¹. Now when amid a rain of arrows pouring from
 all sides the irresistible, terrible hostile army approached,
 247 they cunningly feigned as if they had been routed by it and
 turned back. When then the others approached in pursuit
 248 of them, then suddenly skilled warriors, doughty soldiers,
 experienced in the war game, a thousand in number like
 249 singly marching elephants², made a dash at them and fought
 an action, appearing in front of the hostile forces like the
 250 army of King Yama³. A hail of arrows began to rain on
 all sides and the people who stood on the structure began
 251 to shoot at those who were on the ground. There followed
 a hail⁴ of stones which hurled from engines, flew⁵ here and
 252 there vast in size. From the burning, sharp-pointed⁶ bamboo

¹ P. *akkhaṇavedhino*. Cf. also JāCo. III. 322²², V. 129¹⁷. I accept the explanation in JāCo. II. 91¹¹. H. Kern, *Toevoegselen op't Woordenboek van Childers I. 69*, compares skr. *ākhaṇa* "target". This seems to me too colourless. Moreover Mhvs. 23. 86 distinguishes the *saddavedhī*, "who shoots according to the sound" (without seeing the mark), the *vālavedhī* "who hits a hair" and the *vijjuvedhī* "who shoots by the gleam of the lightning". To these three categories JāCo. V. 129¹⁷ adds that of the *saravedhino* who can shoot a second arrow on to the first one already sticking in the target. The art is still practised in India. I know a young Indian who claims to be both a *vālavedhī* and a *saddavedhī*.

² I read *paccekahatthino*. What is meant are the solitary or rogue elephants who are known for attacking furiously and are therefore much dreaded. The word is formed on the *paccekabuddha* model.

³ The god of death. In the whole section from v. 232 to v. 249 *vattesuṃ* (*samaraṃ*) in 249 is the first and only finite verb. We have thus to do with a single sentence. The construction meanwhile is not correct. The subject changes *Rakkhādhikārī* in 232 and *vīrā subhaṭṭā* in 248. An alteration of *pesetvā* (246) into *pesei* would get over the difficulty. I dare not suggest it however, as I believe that irregular sentences with accumulated gerunds are typical of the compiler's style. Cf. note to 72. 128.

⁴ Lit. "a spreading out" (a broad throwing).

⁵ P. *pharantānaṃ*. The verb *phar* is a favourite one for expressing the flashing of the lightning.

⁶ Indian dictionaries give *tikṣṇa* "sharp", "pointed" as the meaning of *caṇḍa*.

rods which cut into single pieces were hurled¹ down there spread an unbearable heat. With many glowing iron rods 253 which were tied to strings and which they drew up again, they performed seven days long their terrible deeds. Thus 254 the discerning great dignitaries of the Great King carried on the combat in accordance with the instruction of their King. Seized by fear the army of the foe dispersed at once like the 255 wave-crowned flood² when it breaks on the ocean's shore. Thus the army with the Monarch were wiped out on the battle- 256 field as the stars with the moon at the rising of the dawn.

Then at Rajatakedāra day by day for six months in bitter 257 fight they weakened the forces of the foe. The Monarch 258 Mānābharaṇa set about building a stronghold for his sojourn³ by making a stockade of thorns. When King Parakkamabāhu, 259 the energetic, the exceeding wise, the lotus-eyed, in his vigilance heard of this proceeding, he thought in his heart: 260 "This plan is clever. If he now sets about building a stronghold he must, methinks, as his army is weakened, be about 261 to retire. Now is the right moment to get Mānābharaṇa entirely into one's power. I also must march thither and it 262 is well if I march, to march in such manner that he notices nothing, else he will take flight." With this resolve he left 263 Vikkamapura⁴ and while feigning that he was going to the chase, he betook himself to Kyānagāma accompanied by many 264 skilful musicians, who made music on the lute and the flute. While now the wise Ruler versed in moods, sojourned like 265 Vāsava⁵ in that village, he sent a message to the Adhikārin Rakkha to put his division of the army with all speed in 266 fighting trim and to hold a war festival with the officer of

¹ P. *pavīta*; cf. skr. *pravīta*.

² To supplement *kallolamālīnī* "bearing waves as wreaths" one must take *vāhinī* as a substantive of more general meaning "flood". *Vāhinī* it should be remembered, generally denotes "river".

³ I take *sa* in *sasaṃnivesaṃ* as equivalent to the skr. *sva* W. translates "with an encampment".

⁴ The headquarters of Parakkamabāhu, see 72. 147 and note.

⁵ A name of the god Indra.

267 King Mānābharāṇa, Buddhanāyaka by name¹. When the
discerning Adhikārin had hearkened carefully to all of the
message sent, he at once carrying out the order of the Great
268 King, put his army in readiness, and sent the war-practised
(host) forth, which was like to a whirlwind when it scatters
269 cotton, namely the enemy. The four-membered army marched
to Rajatakedāra, delivered there till sunset a bitter action,
270 slew Buddhanāyaka and the other officers, put the rest of the
271 army to flight and stayed the night on the spot. When the
Sovereign Parakkamabāhu heard of this event the prudent
272 one betook himself to the village called Mihiraṇabibbila². He
had fetched the Laṅkāpura Kaḍakkuḍa who was endowed
with extraordinary courage, and the two brothers, the generals:
273 "King Mānābharāṇa will certainly to-day in the night take
274 flight, his heart swayed by great fear; betake yourselves to
him on his way and cut off his flight", such was the order
275 given them by the discerning (king). While the heavens
without ceasing drizzled and rained, while thickest darkness
276 held sway, these marched in black night, but were not able
to overtake the Monarch Mānābharāṇa on the way who was
fleeing tortured by dread.

277 The Monarch Mānābharāṇa had at that time thought thus:
278 "In the stronghold occupied to-day by the hostile army, a
terrible noise can be heard like the raging of the vast ocean.
279 The hostile king has, methinks, entered the fort. If instead
of fleeing, I remain here during the night, to-morrow I shall
280 certainly be delivered helplessly into his hands. Without lett-
ing any single one of all my companions know it, I must
281 leave this place." Racked by fear, with such thoughts he
left his own children in the lurch and while heavy rain
282 streamed down and thick darkness reigned, he hastened hither
and thither, every now and again falling into a deep pit,
stumbling amid the undergrowth of the forest, ever and anon
283 starting with fear his heart filled with terror, to the Mahā-

¹ See note to 70. 296, as well as below v. 270.

² Cf. above v. 232.

vālukagaṅgā. But fearing that if he fled by a well known ford, the foe pursuing might take him alive, he crossed the 284 river with difficulty at some unknown ford and regained 285 courage for a moment. But as he had exceeding fear of the able-bodied inhabitants of the country, he wandered in dis- 286 guise full of terror from village to village and so fleeing came to his own province stripped of everything¹.

When the warriors of the Great King Parakkamabāhu 287 who were posted at divers places, noticed that King Mānābharāṇa had departed, then thousands of them joyfully waved their 288 garments², they lit around hundreds of thousands of torches, and while taking the lives of many thousands of warriors, 289 they clapped their hands, shouted with joy, jumped about, and broke at one swoop from all sides into the great entrench- 290 ment which King Mānābharāṇa had occupied, captured alive 291 the Prince called Sirivallabha who had been left behind and other great dignitaries, seized the rich treasures scattered here 292 and there of the hostile king, elephants and horses, equipment and an array of weapons. Having made the necessary ar- 293 rangements for their custody, they all set off in pursuit of the Ruler Mānābharāṇa, reached in the shortest (possible) time the 294 Mahāvālukagaṅgā, cut to pieces there also a hostile army down to the last man³, and having seen to it that the whole 295 river carried⁴ along with it naught but flesh and blood, they were fain to press on farther, resolved not to turn back before they had captured the Ruler Mānābharāṇa even if they had 296 to march to the ocean⁵. But Parakkamabāhu of the strength-

¹ P. *gativivajjito*. For the meaning of skr. *gati* "resource" s. BR. s. v. nr. 6. W's translation "undisguised" (in contrast to *aññātavesena* in pāda a) is certainly wrong.

² Lit. "they instituted thousands of wavings of garments". *Celukkhepa* signifies expression of approval. See JāCo. II. 90¹; III. 292¹²; Mhvs. 15, App. B, 7.

³ P. *aparicchinaṃ*, lit. unlimited, unrestricted, complete.

⁴ Pun on *vāhinī* with threefold meaning 1) army (294 d), 2) river (295 a), 3) adj. for "carrying with it" (295 b).

⁵ The past part. *nikkhaṇṭā* takes the place of a finite verb.

297 defying arms, whose commands were scarce to be evaded, gave
 them the order not to cross to the other bank of the stream,
 298 and thus made them turn back. Thereupon King Parakkama-
 bāhu, the unvanquished sovereign, put on all his ornaments
 299 and surrounded by his army, with Prince Sirivallabha in front,
 he filling the heavens with great rejoicings of victory, enter-
 300 ed the fair city of Pulatthinagara, even as the King of the
 gods (entered) the city of the gods after his victory in the
 battle with the asuras¹.

301 Now the Monarch Mānābharaṇa by reason of a disease
 caused by his fear of Prince Parakkama had come to the end
 302 of his life force. As he lay there on his bed, near to death,
 enmeshed in misery amongst his wives who wailed with out-
 303 spread arms, he had Prince Kittisirimegha and yet other high
 304 dignitaries fetched and spake these words: "Rich treasures,
 that sacrificed to the venerable Tooth Relic and to the sacred
 305 Alms-bowl by believing sons of good family, and besides these
 divers villages belonging to the bhikkhu order have I seized
 306 and destroyed, swayed by the lust for kingly power. Now I
 lie on that bed from which there is no rising. Whence shall
 I find salvation from hell², if by death I unwillingly quit
 307 this world. Go thou, without ruining thyself as I (have ruined)
 myself, to the Sovereign Parakkama, do that which he orders
 308 thee and live devoted to him as he shall direct thee." After
 309 these words he wept more distressfully and entered the dwell-
 ing of god Yama difficult of approach, as if he wished to
 betake himself to a territory which lay not in the realm of
 the good soldiers of the Great King Parakkama.

¹ In the Devanagala inscription, line 13/14 Parakkamabāhu mentions his war with Gajabāhu. After this name an illegible space of about seven akkharas is following, and then we read *dēdēhā* (instead of *dēdenā hā*) *yuddha koṭa* "having made war with the two [princes] Gajabāhu and" It is very probable that we have to supply after *Gajabāhu* the name of *Mānābharaṇa*. See H. C. P. BELL, Report on the Kégalla District (1892), p. 74-5.

² There are four *apāyā* or possibilities of rebirth for the sinner — 1) in hell, 2) as animal, 3) in the world of ghosts, 4) in the world of demons.

When King Parakkamabāhu who had captivated all those 310
of good disposition without exception, heard that King Mānā-
bharapa was dead, he had the Prince Kittisirimegha fetched
thence. Then the great dignitaries met together and with 311
clasped hands prayed the Ruler to celebrate the festival of the
king's consecration¹. At a favourable moment and under a lucky 312
star the Ruler (now) without rivals held the happy festival
of the coronation. The loud noise of the divers kinds of 313
drums was then terrible as the raging of the ocean when
lashed by the storm wind of the destruction of the world.
Elephants equipped with gilded armour made the royal road 314
look as if it were traversed by lightning-flashing cloud moun-
tains. The whole town in which the colours of the horses² 315
gave rise, as it were to waves, was in agitation like the ocean.
By the variegated umbrellas and wreaths and the rows of gol- 316
den flags the heavens were hid as it were, on all sides. Gar- 317
ments were shaken and fingers snapped³, the inhabitants of
the town sent forth the cry: Live (o King)! live! Covered 318
with arches of bananas and thickly studded with jars and
wreaths the whole universe consisted of a mass of festivals⁴.
Songs of praise were heard hymned by many hundreds of 319
singers and the smoke of (kindled) aloe wood filled the firma-
ment. Clad in many-coloured garments, adorned with divers 320
ornaments⁵ and bearing sundry weapons in their hands,
practised warriors strutted around here and there with well- 321
rounded limbs goodly to look at with their heroic forms, like

¹ Cf. above 71. 19, in which the first consecration as king is described, the effect of which seems to have disappeared, since Parakkamabāhu had for a time to evacuate Rājaraṭṭha and Pulatthinagara.

² Pun on *turaṅga*, *raṅga*, *taraṅga*. The dark-coloured horses are like the waves, the light-coloured ones their crowns of foam.

³ Lit.: "The shaking of clothes took place (see note to 72. 288) and finger-snapping took place".

⁴ P. *nekamaṅgalaṃ* (*āsi*). If the reading *sakalan-tv-ekamaṅgalaṃ* could be reconciled with the MSS. the sense, undoubtedly good, would be: the universe was a single, vast festival.

⁵ The *ūbharaṇāni* "ornaments" were bestowed on them by the king for their bravery, corresponding to our medals.

322 rutting elephants. The many thousands of archers with their
 bows in their hand made it look as if the army of the gods
 323 trod the earth. Filled with hundreds of state chariots¹ of
 gold, jewels and pearls the town looked like the starry firmament.
 324 While the mighty King whose eye was large as a
 lotus flower, thus performed a long series of marvellous things,
 325 he ascended himself, adorned with a wealth of ornament, to
 the golden baldachin that rested on a couple of elephants
 326 covered with golden cloths, wearing on his head a diadem
 sparkling with the brilliance of its jewels, like to the eastern
 327 mountain when it bears the rising sun, vanquishing the
 fairness of the spring by the power of his own fairness and
 making moist the eyes of the women in the town by the
 328 water of their tears of joy. Thus beamed on by auspicious
 signs, after he had encircled the town with his right side
 turned towards it, he entered like unto the thousand-eyed
 (Indra) into the beautiful royal palace.

329 While thus as ruler of the middle world², he filled the
 chief and the intermediary regions of the heavens with festive
 glory, King Parakkamabāhu, the excellent ruler of the uni-
 verse, carried out the second consecration as king in the second
 year (of his reign).

Here ends the seventy-second chapter, called "The Description of the festival of the Royal Consecration", in the *Mahāvamsa*, compiled for the serene joy and emotion of the pious.

¹ P. *vimāna*. I do not think that the word means "palace" here, but rather that it is equivalent to *ratha* (cf. PTS. P. D. s. v. *vimāna* with detailed explanation of the term). What is meant are the chariots taking part in the processions with their sparkling ornaments of gold and precious stones.

² The King is here made an equal of the four (or eight) *lokapālā*, the rulers of the heavenly regions of whom he appears as the central figure.

Additions and Corrections

(Ed. = edition, Tr. = translation)

- 37.79 Ed. Put the whole verse between marks of suspension. It is a parenthesis.
- 37.103 Ed. Put: after ratanamaṇḍapaṃ.
- 37.114 Ed. Read: »nāgo rogīti nicchayaṃ«.
- 37.202 Ed. We have probably to read: cātuddasiṃ pañcadasiṃ yā ca pakkhassa aṭṭhamī.
- 37.206 Ed. Read: coraṃ rattiyam, uggate &c.
- 38.3 Ed. Read: chattaḡāhakaḡantuno.
- 38.29 Ed. Read: cuto, putto Parindo pi tatiye, tassa bhātuko &c.
- 38.65 Ed. I propose to read: Akāsi paṭimāgehe Bahumaṅgalacetiye | bodhisatte ca, tatthāpi Kālaselassa satthuno || &c.
- 38.68 Tr. Add in the note: It is however probable that in the Mahāvamsa not the Buddhist yojana but the common Indian yojana is meant which has the double length (a little more than 9 miles). See PARKER, Ancient Ceylon, p. 255 f.
- 38.79 Ed. Expunge the ? after nidassitaṃ and put it after samattho.
- 38.88 Ed. Read: °kule instead of °kūle.
- 41.33 Ed. Read: Puratthimaṃ instead of puī°.
- 41.82 Ed. Read: gahetvā khiṇi; tīh' evaṃ aṅgulīhi sa taṃ chupi.
- 41.96 Ed. Read: Uttare instead of utt°.
- 42.67 Tr. Add in the note: The Giritata is the present Giritālava, and the Gaṅgāta the present Kantalai lake. Cf. the notes to 70. 286, 312.
- 44.56 Ed. Read: Janapadaṃ instead of jan°.
- 44.71 Ed. Read: Uttaraṃ inst. of utt°.
- 44.90 Ed. Read: sakkā hantaṃ ti dāraḡaṃ«.
- 47.66 Ed. Read on p. 89²: tatth' eva instead of tath' eva.
- 48.66 Tr. Add in note 4, line 8 after °gehāni: (Cf. Ceylon Journal of Science I, p. 145 ff.).
- 49.17 f. Ed. Read: paṭimāyo ca kārayi || pāsāde cetiye c'eva vihāre ca anappake.
- 49.78 Ed. Expunge the full stop after avalokiya.

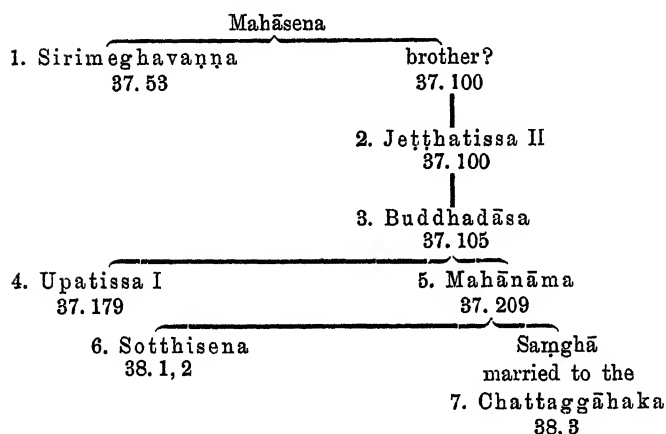
- 49.81 Ed. Expunge the comma after sādhuḥkaṃ.
- 50.34 Ed. Read: Pāsāde Ratane sabbasoṇaṃ &c.
- 50.48 Ed. Read: 'samo instead of samo.
- 51.88 Ed. Read: Kuṭṭhaka° instead of Tutṭhaka°.
- 54.57 Ed. Read: rājaṃ instead of rājā.
59. 2 Ed. Read: »Abhisekamaṅgalatthaṃ pāsādādiṃ anekakaṃ kiccaṃ &c.
- 59.49 Ed. Read: Sundarivhaṃ instead of Sunārivhaṃ.
61. 4 Ed. Read: 'khilā instead of khilā.
- 61.36 Ed. We have probably to read Ariyadesīso.
- 61.40 Ed. Read: saṃgāmaṃ tena rājina.
- 61.53 Ed. Read: te 'khīṇatosā instead of te khīṇa°.
65. 6 Ed. Read: Paṭiladdha° instead of Patiladdha°.
- 66.26 Ed. Read: kumāraṃ instead of kumāraṃ.
- 66.59 Ed. I propose reading ten'ato instead of te tato.
- 66.80 Ed. Read: Ranamburaṃ instead of Ratamb°.
- 66.143 Ed. Read. °opāya° instead of °opaya°.
- 70.54 Ed. Read: Rājaraṭṭhaṃ instead of rāja°.
- 70.98 Ed. Read: Ambavanaṃ instead of Ambuv°.
- 70.103 Ed. Read: Janapadaṃ instead of jana°.
- 70.112 and 120 Ed. Read: gaṅgā° instead of Gaṅgā°.
- 70.181 Ed. Read: vasī karita° instead of vasīkarita°.
- 72.58 Ed. Read: Ārakkha° instead of ārakkha°.
- 72.106 Ed. Expunge the » « before and after sāvadhāraṇaṃ.
- 72.121-2 Ed. Put: at the end of v. 121 and » at the beginning of v. 122.
- 72.127 Ed. Expunge » before sakalārātivāhinī.
- 72.170 Ed. Read Kālavāpiyaṃ instead of Kāla°.

Genealogical Tables

(See J. STILL, Index to the Mahawansa, p. 79 ff.; WICKREMASINGHE, EZ.
I, p. 184, II, p. 58)

I

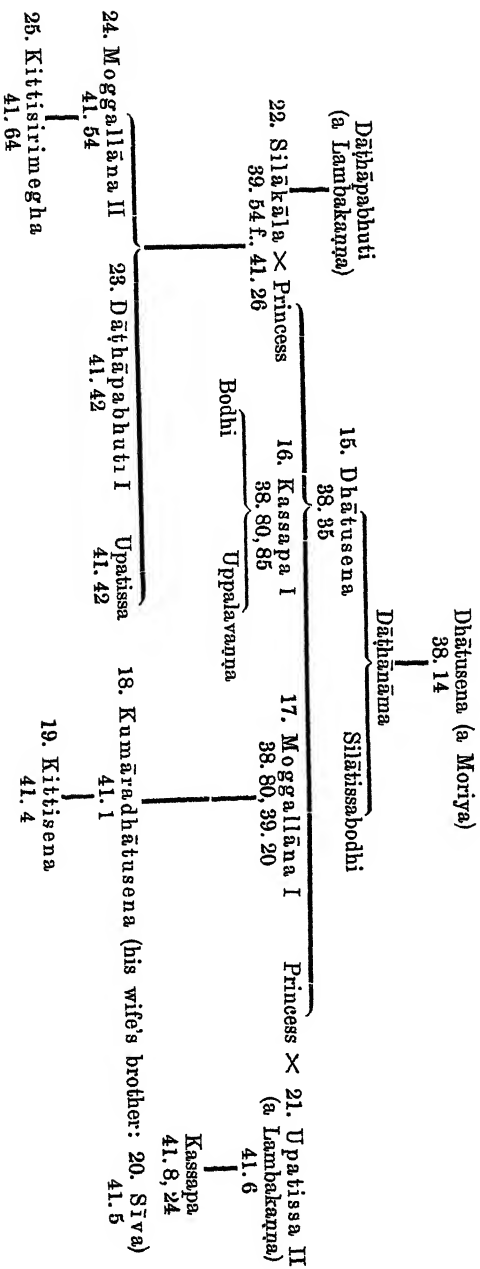
From Sirimeghavanna to the Chattaggāhaka



8. Mittasena to 14. Piṭhiya
38. 4—34

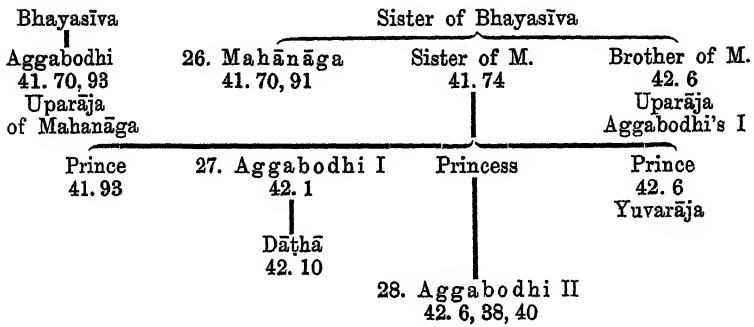
II

From Dhātusena to Kittisirimegha

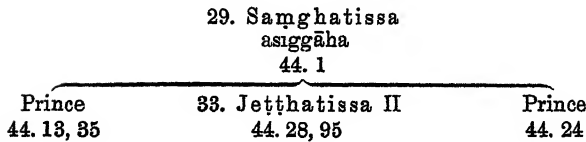


III^a

From Mahānāga to Aggabodhi II

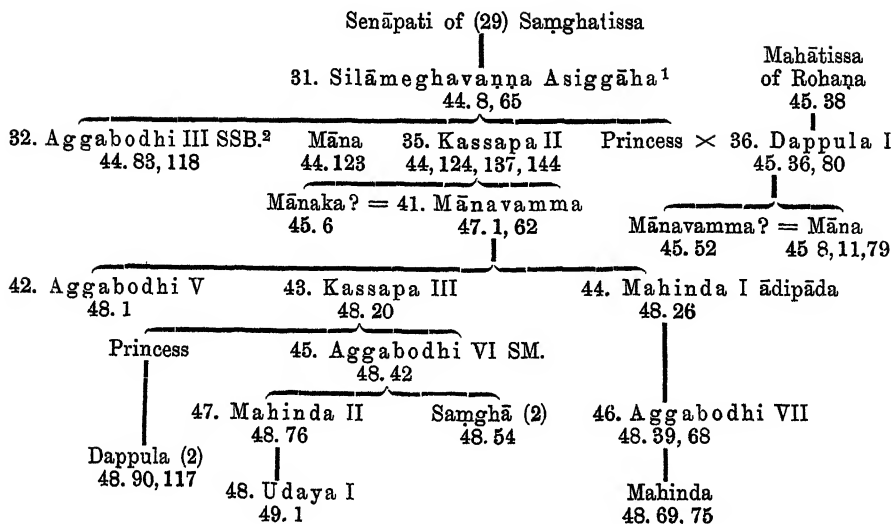
III^b

Samghatissa and his successor



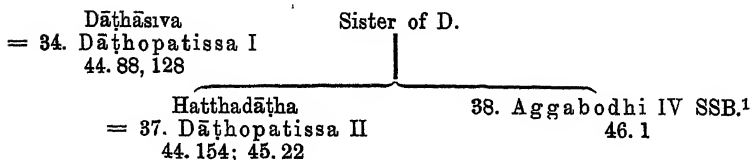
IV

From Silāmeghavanna to Udaya I

¹ His predecessor was 30. Moggallāna III., Senāpati of Aggabodhi II (44. 2, 22).² His successors were 33. Jeṭṭhatissa II and 34. Dāṭṭhopatissa I (s. III^b, V).

V

Collateral Line

¹ His successors were 39. Datta (46. 41) and 40. Hatthadāṭṭha (46. 45). Then 41. Mānavamma (see IV) ascends the throne.

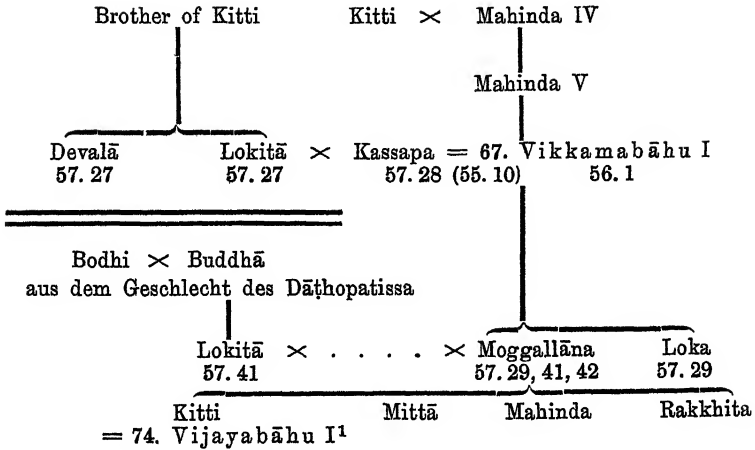
VII

From Sena II to Vikkamabahu I

(Sena I)		Kassapa (6)			
64. Sena II SSB. 50. 48, 51. 1 × Sanghā (4)	58. Dappula III 53. 1	59. Dappula IV (von b) 53. 4	60. Udaya III 53. 13	61. Sena III 53. 13, 28	62. Udaya IV (?) 53. 28, 39
67. Kassapa V SMV. (von a) × a) Sanghā (6), b) Senā (2) 51. 18 c) Devā (3), d) Rājini 52. 64	58. Dappula III 53. 1	59. Dappula IV (von b) 53. 4	60. Udaya III 53. 13	61. Sena III 53. 13, 28	62. Udaya IV (?) 53. 28, 39
Sanghā (b) (von a) 51. 18	Kittaggaḥodhi (von b) 51. 94	60. Udaya III 53. 13	61. Sena III 53. 13, 28	62. Udaya IV (?) 53. 28, 39	63. Sena IV (von a) ? 53. 39, 54. 1
Mahinda (12) (von a) ? 51. 99	63. Sena IV (von a) ? 53. 39, 54. 1	Tissā (3) 52. 2	Siddhattha (von d) 52. 68	Sakkaṣaṇḍipati (von c) 52. 62 × Vajirā 52. 62	64. Mahinda IV (von c) 54. 1, 7 × Kittī (2) 54. 50
65. Sena V 54. 57	Udaya 54. 58	66. Mahinda V 55. 1	67. Vikkamabāhu I (Kassapa 55. 10) 56. 1		

VIII

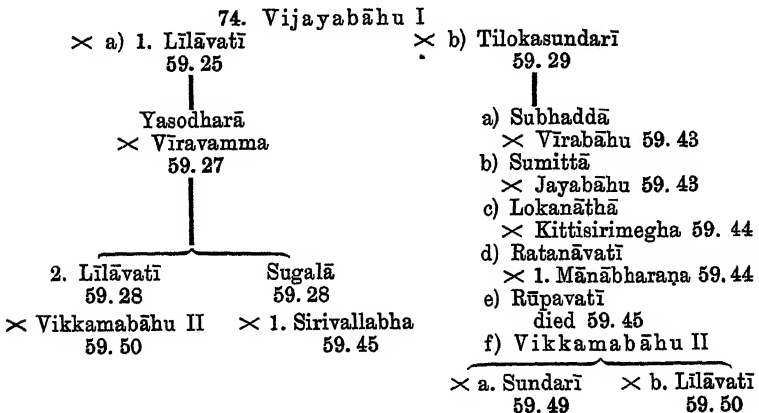
From Vikkamabāhu I to Vijayabāhu I



¹ Kings between Vikkamabāhu I and Vijayabāhu I were 68. Kittī, 69. Mahālānakitti, 70. Vikkamapaṇḍu, 71. Jagatīpāla, 72. Parakkama-
paṇḍu I, 73. Loka (56. 7—57. 2).

IX

Vijayabāhu's I Family



X

Descent of Parakkamabāhu I

4. Moggallāna × 2. Lokitā

57. 29, 41

74. Vijayabāhu I SSB.¹

Vīrabāhu
59. 11; 60. 86

75. Jayabāhu I
60. 87; 61. 5; 62. 1

76. Vikkamabāhu II
61. 8, 62. 1

1. Mittā
× Paṇḍurāja
59. 41; 62. 1

77. Gaṇabāhu
60. 88; 63. 19

Anikaṅga
61. 40

16. Mahinda
62. 59; 72. 46 ff.

1. Mānābharaṇa
(Vīrabāhu)
59. 42; 61. 26; 62. 67
× Ratanāvalī 59. 44

2. Kittisimegha
59. 42; 67. 87
× Lokanāthā
59. 44

1. Siyavallabha
59. 42; 64. 18
× Sugatā 59. 45

2. Mittā Pabhāvatī

× 2. Mānābharaṇa
63. 16, 64. 24

78. Parakkamabāhu I

× Rūpavatī 73. 142
× 3. Līlāvatī 80. 31

2. Mānābharaṇa
64. 19

× Mittā 63. 16
× Pabhāvatī 64. 24

2. Siyavallabha
(von 1.) 72. 291

8. Līlāvatī

3. Kittisimegha
(von 2.) 64. 24; 72. 303

¹ See Table IX

Supplementary Notes

- 1) Introduction, p. XXII. Mr. A. M. HOCART, C. J. Sc. G. II, p. 34 refers to the part played by the sister's son in Ancient Germany, according to Tacitus, Germania 20: Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor. Quidam sanctiorem artiolem-que hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur. "The sister's son is in as great honour with the uncle as with the father. Some consider this tie of blood more sacred and closer."
- 2) Introduction, p. XXV ff. I wish to direct the reader's attention to the inscriptions on the pillars of King Nissanka Malla's "Council Chamber" in Polonnaruwa. They supply us with useful information as to the highest officials and the constituent members of the royal council at the time of that king. At the king's right hand there sat 1) the *mahādīpāda*, 2) the *ādīpādas*, 3) the *senāpati*, 4) the *adhikāras* (principle chiefs), 5) the Chief Secretary (*mahālekha*); — and on his left side 1) the *maṇḍalīkas* (governors of the provinces), 2) the eighty four (chiefs of smaller districts), 3) the heads of the merchants. — The number 84 exactly corresponds to the 84 *sāmantā* appointed by Parakkamabāhu in Dakkhinadesa, Mhvs. 69. 16. — See H. W. CODRINGTON, JRAS. C. Br. XXIX, Nr. 77, 1924, p. 304 ff.; the same, HC. p. 68.
- 3) 37. 213 (p. 22, n. 4) The Dhūmarakkha is situated on the right bank — not left bank — of the Mahaveliganga. It is, no doubt, identical with the Dimbulāgala-kanda, the so-called "Gunner's Quoin", near Mahagantota (ancient Kacchakatittha), E. of Polonnaruwa. In my Transl. of the Mahāvamsa, p. 72, n. 1 and p. 289—90 must be corrected accordingly. H. STOREY, C. A. L. R. III. 3, p. 229.
- 4) 53. 30. For the daily ritual in the Dalada-Maligava, Kandy, see Arthur A. PERERA, C. A. L. R. VI. 2, p. 67 f.
- 5) For the identification of the topographical names in ch. 66 &c. I refer also to H. STOREY, Parākrama Báhu the Great, C. A. L. R. VII. 1, p. 17 ff.

List of Abbreviations

- A. = *Anguttara Nikāya* (ed. PTS.).
 Abhp. = *Abhidhānappadīpikā*.
 AIC. = Ed. MULLER, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 1883.
 Ann. Rep. = *Annual Report*.
 ASC. = *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*.
 BR. = BOHTLINGK und ROTH, *Sanskrit Worterbuch*.
 C. A. L. R. = *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*.
 C. J. Sc. G. = *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sect. G.
 Col. Ed. = Colombo Edition of the "Mahawansa from the thirty-seventh Chapter", 1877.
 D. = *Dīgha Nikāya* (ed. PTS.).
 Dh. = *Dhammapada* (ed. PTS.).
 DhCo. = *Dhammapada Commentary* (ed. PTS.).
 EI. = *Epigraphia Indica*.
 EZ. = *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (ed. WICKREMasinghe).
 HC. = H. W. CODRINGTON, *A Short History of Ceylon*, 1926.
 Jā. = *Jātaka*.
 JāCo. = *The Jātaka together with its Commentary*, ed. FAUSBÖLL, 1877 ff.
 JAs. = *Journal Asiatique*.
 JPTS. = *Journal of the Pali Text Society*.
 JRAS. = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
 JRAS. C. Br. = *Journ. Roy. As. Soc., Ceylon Branch*.
 Kh. = *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, together with its Commentary, ed. HELMER SMITH (PTS.), 1915.
 LSI. = *Linguistic Survey of India* (Sir GEORGE GRIERSON).
 M. = *Majjhima Nikāya* (ed. PTS.).
 Mem. = *Memoirs* (of the ASC.).
 Mhbh. = *Mahābhārata*.
 Mhvs. = *Mahāvamsa*.
 Milp. = *Milindapañha* ed. TRENCKNER, 1880.
 Nett. = *Nettipakaraṇa* (ed. PTS.).
 Nik.-s. = *Nikāyaśaṅgraha* (ed. WICKREMasinghe).
 P. = *Pāli*.
 PIERIS 1 = *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era*, by P. E. PIERIS, 2 Bde. 1913-4.
 PIERIS 2 = *Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505-1658*, by P. E. PIERIS, 1920.
 PIERIS 3 = *Ceylon and the Hollanders 1658-1796* by P. E. PIERIS, 1924.
 PTS. = *Pali Text Society*.
 PTS. P. D. = *The PTS.'s Pali Dictionary* by RHYS DAVIDS and STEDE.
 Pūjāv. = *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon, extracted from the "Pūjāvaliya"*, 1893.
 Pv. = *Petavatthu* (ed. PTS.).

- Rājaratn. = Rājaratnākaraya or History of Ceylon, ed. Saddhananda, 1887.
- Rājāv. = The Rājāvaliya, ed. by B. Guṇasēkara, 1899; — transl. by the same, 1900.
- Rām. = Rāmāyaṇa.
- S. = Saṃyutta Nikāya (ed. PTS.)
- S. and B. = SUMANGALA and BATUWANTUDAWA, editors of Mhvs., Col. Ed. — The same, Mhvs. transl. (into Sinhalese), 1917.
- Sn. = Suttanipāta (ed. PTS.)
- SMV. = Silāmeghavaṇṇa.
- S. P. = Sessional Papers.
- SSB. = Sirisaṃghabodhi.
- Thag. = Theragāthā (ed. PTS.)
- Thīg. = Therīgāthā (ed. PTS.)
- Vin. = Vinaya Piṭaka, ed. OLDENBERG.
- Vv. = Vimānavatthu (ed. PTS.)
- W. = The Mahāvamsa, part II, containing Chapters XXXIX to C, by L. C. WIJESINHA.
- ZII. = Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.